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# THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Politics and the Arts — November 13, 1971, 50 cents

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*Frank Church*

## The World We're In

*Walter Lippmann*

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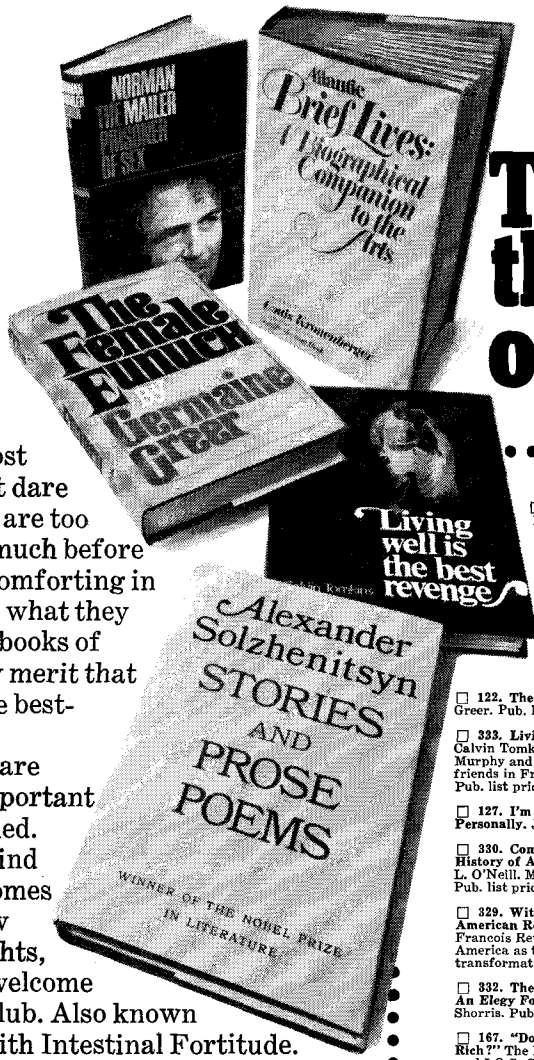
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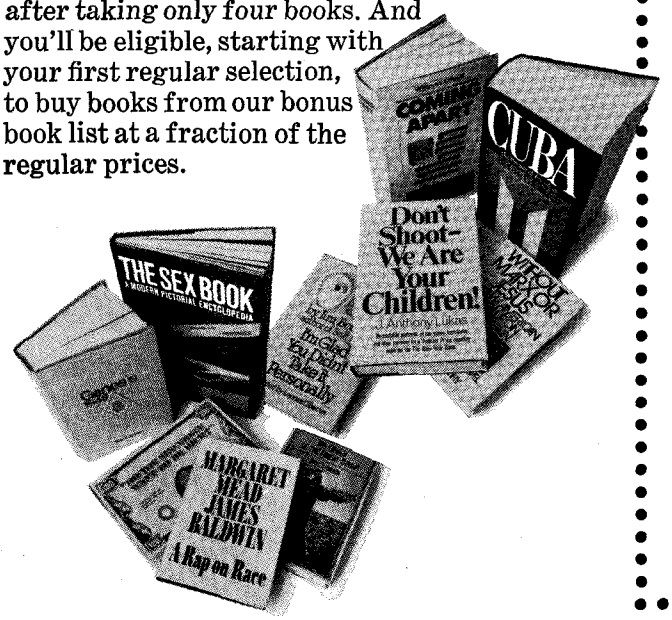


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# TRB

from Washington ®

## The Oil Slickers

The charwoman swabbing the floor of the Standard Oil of New Jersey building has a higher Federal tax rate than the company for which she works under the crazy American tax system. The subject is a long way from Vietnam or the UN, but it has an important bearing on you and me. Maybe the charwoman would feel quiet pride as she swishes soapy water over the tiles if she understood that she was making a greater sacrifice for the nation than her boss. Or perhaps not. Anyway, Standard Oil had income of $2.4 billion last year and Judy O'Grady had income of $6000. She had a tax rate of 16 percent; Standard's was only 10.8 percent.

Senator William Proxmire last week inserted in the *Congressional Record* (October 27) the 1970 list of biggest oil companies, their income and taxes, compiled annually by *Oil Week*, calling the figures "a disgrace." Standard Oil of Ohio on a tidy little income of $66 million paid no Federal tax at all according to these figures but got a 10.4 percent credit, which it can apply to abate taxes in the future.

Giant Texaco with income of $1.1 billion had a tax rate of only 6.4 percent; Standard of California, 5 percent; Atlantic, 4.1 percent and Gulf only 1.2 percent. This compares with the normal rate for corporations in other industries of around 40 percent.

As for the big oil companies altogether, they earned a lip-smacking $8.8 billion in 1970 (only $8.0 in 1969) and their average tax rate was 8.7 percent, up from 7.3 percent last year.

The increased tax rate was nothing to scream about though you would have thought that the world was coming to an end when Congress under the leadership of Wilbur Mills passed the so-called Tax Reform Act of 1969, which reduced their precious 27½ percent depletion allowance loophole to 22 percent. Candidate Richard Nixon went all over Texas in 1968 repeating that he would never let anybody bully the po' little ol' oil industry: "I continue to believe that America's security requires the maintenance of the current oil depletion allowance," he said. Reformers have been denouncing the allowance for 40 years; tough little Harry Truman in his 1950 tax message knew of "no loophole so inequitable."

Actually, the cut to 22 percent didn't amount to much for, as maverick senator and presidential candidate Fred Harris (D, Okla.) observed, the effective rate was probably around 23 percent. The new figures show Harris was right: taxes are a mite higher and profits are bigger than ever though, in fairness, part of that is due to inflation.

What it means is that the average citizen who thinks his taxes are too high is almost impotent in trying to get reform from Congress. Oil congressmen stack committee chairmanships, and oil companies have big campaign money. There is a toothless law to prevent corporate campaign contributions but it has never been enforced and is the subject of national hilarity. Outgoing Treasury Secretary Joe Barr in 1969 warned of a "taxpayers' revolt," not from low-income people but from the middle class ($7000-$20,000) outraged at "high-income recipients who pay little or no federal income tax." The anger may be there but it hasn't surfaced yet.

President Nixon in 1969 fought any cut in the depletion allowance and maybe the Texas oil barons will be grateful to him next year, particularly if John Connally is his running mate.

The Treasury sets the tax loss of all this at $1.6 billion but Harvard professor James Q. Wilson guesses $5 billion, if oil import quotas are included. You see, in addition to juicy tax loopholes the industry gets tariff protection from quotas that cause Americans to pay more than the world price.

Meanwhile, Judy O'Grady scrubs the floor. She hasn't read *Halfway To Tax Reform*, the scornful book of Messrs. Ruskay and Osserman (Indiana Press) about the 1969 act. Oil, in short, is guarded as carefully by solicitous politicians as the President is by Secret Service men; it gets a tax break and a tariff break and it is given every Federal incentive to use up as fast as it can an irreplaceable natural resource, under the ironic excuse, as expounded smugly by Mr. Nixon, that this safeguards "national security."

Ralph Nader, the astonishingly audacious consumer advocate announces, meanwhile, that he will investigate Congress this summer. He will use an 80-student task force. Nothing in this city needs it more. As TRB argued recently the erosion of legislative power has been a distinguishing feature of Washington in the past half century. As Congress handed over its true functions to the Executive it turned to minor matters. Take for example Hisc, son of Huac. "Hisc," of course, is the House Internal Security Committee, which is the old discredited Unamerican Activities Committee under an alias.

That extraordinary first-term congressman Robert Drinan (D) of Newton, Massachusetts, who in addition to having been dean of the Boston College Law School is an ordained Jesuit priest is a contemptuous member of Hisc. He gave it a quick runover recently in a speech here. The 58-man staff is the largest of any standing committee of the House and its $525,000 budget the third largest. In a windowless room it has 754,000 3-by-5 cards arranged in banks that two electronic data machines in a few minutes can automatically extract from cabinets. As a member of the committee Drinan inspected them. They are raw, hearsay dossiers of unverified gossip culled from Right Wing or Communist periodicals available to congressmen to pass on to anybody they see fit, or to government agencies like the Civil Service Commission. Almost anybody's name may be there; *your* name may be there. Drinan says he was distressed and frightened to find a 21-page single-spaced document on a "distinguished citizen of New York City" (name not disclosed). In a special, highly secret and strictly impounded section of the files are the dossiers of individuals who became congressmen. The committee staff won't divulge these, and declares that to release them would require a vote of the entire House. Drinan charges contemptuously that only about 130 of the 435 members of the House believe they can vote against Hisc without being charged at the next election with being soft on Communism.

Maybe they are right. Maybe they remember a young man from California who got to Congress that way; what was his name? – Hickson or Dickson, or something like that.

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# Scrub It Up, Don't Wipe It Out

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Two facts emerge from the Senate debate and defeat of the foreign aid bill. The first is that the bipartisan, Cold War coalition that for two decades was willing to spend or lend dollars and weapons to contain Communism has come apart. The second is that no new majority has yet formed around a less ideological, less divisive, less corrupting way of helping the world's poorest people. The old coalition collapsed in the Senate on October 29 under the weight of two antithetical forces. One is represented by such men as Peter Dominick of Colorado, Alan Bible of Nevada and Paul Fannin of Arizona, who hold that government is doing too much for too many people, but especially for foreigners, and especially foreigners who don't stay bought. Alongside them in the floor fight were Senators like Frank Church (whose rationale for ending the bilateral aid program is printed in this issue of *The New Republic*), who say: stop the war, stop lining the pockets of a small ruling class, stop arming despotic governments against their own people. Senator Fulbright speaks for this view when he advocates "returning to the concept of trying to assist underdeveloped countries, not to dominate them."

When Secretary Rogers charges that the Senate struck "a very serious blow [against] the foreign policy of the United States," he is begging the question of what foreign policy the US should have. It is not necessarily the present policy. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, for example, had approved a House bill to extend foreign aid at the present level for two years – $1,479,470,000 in economic assistance and $1,723,400,000 in military aid for fiscal 1972. But it had added certain amendments to the House measure, which, far from destroying our foreign policy, would have strengthened it. The administration thought otherwise and preferred no bill to the committee's. Why? The principal amendments were these: No funds for US forces in Indochina for any purpose other than withdrawal and protection from "imminent danger" during withdrawal; a declaration that our forces be withdrawn from Indochina within six months, subject to the release of American prisoners of war; a ceiling of $250 million on aid to Cambodia; the shifting of more economic aid to multilateral institutions and the phasing out of the bilateral loan program by June 30, 1975; the suspension of all assistance and military sales to Pakistan, except for humanitarian relief; a halt to

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further aid or military sales to Greece. In categorically rejecting these restricting amendments, the administration set the stage for what followed on October 29.

The Senate met at 9 a.m. and having prayed ("at Thy throne of grace we do not seek preference for ourselves or our Nation . . .") it got down to the business at hand. Mr. Buckley of New York proposed that the administration negotiate a reduction in the regular US contribution to the United Nations, to which Mr. Fulbright had no objection, it being understood that this is not "a reaction to the recent vote [on China] in the UN," which it was. Mr. Buckley's amendment passed. Mr. Gravel of Alaska then offered an amendment to the aid bill, summoning the UN to admit the Republic of China, both Germanys, both Koreas, and both Vietnams. Why not Outer Mongolia, Senator Fulbright wondered, whereupon he was reminded that Outer Mongolia already is a member of the UN.

Mr. Allen of Alabama came next. He wished to strike the ban on arms sales to Greece; Greece had voted with the United States on the China question. No, said Mr. Fulbright, Greece "abstained on the Albanian resolution, which resulted in the seating of Communist China." Well, replied Mr. Allen, we should not "deprive our ally of military hardware and military support" it needs to fulfill its military obligations under the NATO treaty; he "had thought that only Communist nations wanted to weaken and destroy the NATO alliance"; the ban would put Greece on "the verge of falling into Communist hands." This prompted Mr. McClellan of Arkansas to decry the humiliation suffered by the US at the UN, the "insult" to America's "unparalleled beneficence," and to conclude that foreign aid was a "flop and we should stop it." Senator Stennis of Mississippi then revived the discussion of Greece: "Like it or not, they are there . . . we cannot just pull the plug and expose ourselves and all of Western Europe"; so he would vote for the amendment of the senator from Alabama. So would Mr. Allott of Colorado: "They wanted us to shut off all assistance and aid to Batista in Cuba; we did; we clamped down on Batista. But what do we have now?" So would Mr. Buckley, who thought it unwise to tell the Greeks how to run their government. Exactly, said Mr. Pell of Rhode Island, but the "proper way to stop interfering is to stop giving them arms." Right, said Mr. Fulbright, and the "primary support for the existing military dictatorship comes from the US government." Mr. Pastore of Rhode Island regretted very much that he had to differ with his distinguished friend, the senator from Arkansas, but he would vote for the Allen amendment, because of his "reliance on the integrity and judgment of three Rhode Islanders who are of Greek ancestry for whom I have the highest respect and regard." The Allen amendment lost, 49 to 31.

At this point, the Majority Leader asked unanimous consent for time for Senator Church, who planned to address the body at three o'clock. Mr. Dominick observed that "if senators are going to make speeches we will never have a chance to bring those amendments up." (Mr. Dominick had two amendments of his own.) Mr. Griffin of Michigan added that a reception for senators was scheduled for three o'clock, so that "would not be a convenient time for senators to be present," and Mr. Church replied that, "that is why I am going to give the speech at that time." The dispute was somehow resolved in Mr. Church's favor, allowing Mr. Symington, who appeared to oppose any further aid to Cambodia, to introduce a "perfecting amendment" to correct a "printing error" in the *Congressional Record*. The correction: changing the figure for aid to Cambodia from $250 million to $341 million – the amount the administration had requested. "Too much money," said Mr. Fulbright. Senator Aiken thought not, for the following reason: "While I would not want to see this money spent for raising an army and putting men to war against their neighbors, I feel that if this amount of $341 million is agreed to at this time it undoubtedly will not survive the [Senate-House] conference at that full amount, though it might, but I doubt in any case if it would survive the Appropriations Committee; so we are not spending this $341 million." Mr. Fulbright would not yield: "No good reason has been given as to why we want to organize and pay for an enormous army in Cambodia. . . . I am arguing about the policy of this country in undertaking an endless operation in Southeast Asia to build up huge military forces there." Mr. Gravel moved to change $341 million to $150 million. He was ruled out of order. Mr. Fulbright said Mr. Gravel *was* in order, and the presiding officer reversed himself. Mr. Mansfield thought "$150 million is just the same as $341 million." Not at all, said Senator Griffin, who supported the larger figure in the interest of the Nixon doctrine: "In Cambodia the Cambodians want to defend themselves and they are defending themselves. Our policy is to help them, but without providing any of our troops to do the fighting." Was the $150 million a "ceiling," Mr. Brooke of Massachusetts asked? No, said Mr. Gravel, the word ceiling is a "misnomer." Senator Case set him straight on that; it was a ceiling, not "just an idle gesture." Senator Gravel let it go, the vote was taken, $341 million for Cambodia was approved 45 to 36.

The loaf was beginning to resemble a pretzel, but the Senate had not yet finished. Senator Church on behalf of himself and Mr. Allott called for cutting the Development Loan Fund (the "soft loan window for our Export-Import Bank") from $425 million to $285 million. Mr. Allott, assenting, thought about "the many people in America and how they struggle to pay their taxes"; *they* don't get "soft loans." Mr. Javits of New York found it "absolutely amazing" that such a cut should be suggested; how could any-

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one object to spending "an additional $160 million a year, when we are already spending . . . over $70 billion for war," which reminded Sen. Humphrey of something Pope Paul had said, after which he commended Mr. Javits for his vision. The Church-Allott amendment passed 43-36, following which everyone agreed with Mr. Brock of Tennessee that no funds would go to any country which did not support the provisions of the 1949 Geneva Convention relating to the treatment of POWs, and with Mr. Stevens of Alaska that *all* "soft loans" would be eliminated.

An amendment by Mr. Dominick to permit the Committee on Foreign Relations "to look over the annual appropriations for mandatory expenses for the United Nations" was accepted, since the committee already has that privilege. Mr. Dominick then proposed that the US contribution to the specialized agencies of the UN be reduced, according to a formula whereby this country would pay the same proportion of those expenses as it does for the UN's fixed costs. The senator from Colorado was moved by his desire to "increase the effectiveness of the UN . . . by getting other countries to come into these programs on an active basis instead of expecting the US to pick up the tab." The amendment worried Sen. Aiken; the casualties of the cut would be the sick, the hungry, the young and the poor, he feared. Mr. Dominick said he had "never heard so much perfect baloney in my life. I do not like being accused of being a child murderer. . . ." The Dominick amendment was rejected, 52-28.

Mr. Church again. He asked that the authorization for all military aid be cut about 20 percent – from $565 million to $452 million. The Senate probably would "split the difference with the House anyway," said Mr. Fulbright. Mr. Javits stuck by $565 million: "These are the three principal recipients – Cambodia, where we ourselves set a higher ceiling, Korea, where we have a very serious situation in regard to security, and Turkey, which is one of the bulwarks in NATO." Mr. Kennedy disagreed: "Our military assistance program is the worst aspect of the bill now before us. . . ." The Church amendment passed 47-27.

Briefly, the discussion drifted onto broader aspects of the aid question. Mr. Chiles of Florida ventured the opinion that the only way to get something better would be to kill the bill in its entirety. Mr. Byrd of Virginia thought so too – for another reason: $3.2 billion is "nearly double the amount that was appropriated in 1970." Mr. Nelson of Wisconsin was also against the bill "because it contains $341 million for military and economic aid to Cambodia." Mr. Tunney was against it because it authorized "massive amounts of military aid," did not bring "a halt to the funds spent in Indochina," – and because "our largesse has strengthened those abroad who now compete with us." Mr. Tunney was dismayed "to know that this bill proposes the authorization of more than two-thirds of its $3.2 billion total for 58 nations which abstained or voted to expel Taiwan from the UN and bring Communist China in," though his vote would not be "in retaliation for any recent action of any nation."

*The Presiding Officer.* The bill having been read the third time, the question is, shall it pass?

*Mr. Mansfield.* Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas were 27 and the nays 41. The bill did not pass. Senator Mansfield gave the benediction: "This may well mark the end of the foreign aid program which this government has undertaken since the end of the Second World War. . . ." But it's not the end. The pipeline has in it an unexpended balance under the Foreign Assistance Act of $4,403,985,000 and there's another $6 billion elsewhere waiting to be spent, $2.5 billion of it in the Pentagon budget for Indochina.

Senators Fulbright and Church have been singled out for censure as spoilers. Let us see who did what; who, while voting *against* the foreign aid bill on October 29, had three weeks earlier voted *for* an appropriation of nearly $2 billion for multilateral aid – $960 million to the International Development Association, $900 million for the Inter-American Development Bank's fund for special operations and $100 million for the Asian Development Bank. They include Fulbright and Church, and Senators Nelson, Bayh, Benson, Chiles, Cranston, Dole, Pastore, Roth, Saxbe, Smith, Spong and Weicker. Quite evidently they aren't against all aid. Put alongside these names, those who voted against the bill on October 29, *and* also against the $2 billion earlier authorization: Dominick, Fannin, Bible, Brock, Burdick, the two Byrds, Cannon, Cook, Eastland, Ervin, Gurney, Hansen, the two Jordans, McClellan, Randolph, Stennis, Symington, Talmadge and Young. What there is of an isolationist hard core in the Senate is here.

Of course the United States can't shuck off its obligation to help poorer nations. A continuing American contribution to development is mandated by the realities of an interdependent world. The question is, what kind of contribution? Every spring, the Congress has debated how much ought to be spent. Now, with the decks cleared, it can put its mind to what the spending should be for, and through what institutions American resources can best serve the needy. The administration wants to avoid an up-or-down fight over aid to Indochina; it is doing everything it can to revive the defeated House bill and so continue the old program for two more years. But the old program is bankrupt and the internationalists in Congress and in the administration now have an opportunity to do something more constructive than picking up the pieces and putting them together as they were. They can transform the program from a slush fund for military juntas and American corporations into a long-range, cooperative investment in human welfare.

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# The Greening of Education

It was time again last week in the House to vote for a new higher education bill – a potpourri which each year gets more expensive, more complex. But this round, the administration endorsed a unique proposal to give financial help to more poor college students than ever before; and liberal Democrats, including the black caucus, defeated it in a 257-117 vote.

The debate centered on how the government should distribute educational opportunity grants, scholarships for the needy. Traditionally, the US Office of Education has parceled money to the states, which divide it among the schools. Financial aid officers at each university decide which students are "needy" and how much they'll get. Congress has long believed that such a flexible system allows universities to respond sensitively to hardship cases – for example, to students whose families must put several offspring through college, or those who have high medical expenses. But the system has been abused: "needy" may describe a good left tackle and *not* a troublesome activist. Poor students shop around for the college which offers them the most aid – but once they are accepted, there's no guarantee they'll continue to get it.

The administration proposal, a bipartisan amendment offered by Republican Albert Quie and Democrat Donald Fraser of Minnesota, would have changed all that. The government would automatically guarantee up to $1400 for needy students, depending on how much their families could afford to contribute. Students would receive the scholarships no matter where they live or what college they attend. The poorest would be helped first.

It was an antipoverty crusader's dream. But Edith Green (D, Ore.), who firmly chairs the subcommittee that wrote the education bill, preferred the current method with minor changes, and she had her way, with the help of the black caucus. Why? For one thing, the Quie-Fraser amendment carried an administration taint. "We don't trust the Nixon administration," a caucus aide said flatly. "I don't think the black caucus members understood what was going on," said another, "This is technical stuff." Yet all of the black representatives, except the three who sit on Mrs. Green's committee, signed a statement in June supporting the Quie-Fraser amendment. Ronald Dellums, the fiery California Democrat from Berkeley, even wrote a "Dear Colleague" letter warning that Mrs. Green's bill "would be tragic for thousands of low income students." Yet all black members of the House ended up voting against the amendment, along with white liberals. John Brademas (D, Ind.) who worked closely with Quie on the amendment, gave in at the last minute, so as not to jeopardize some pet legislation included elsewhere in the education bill.

Needy students at poor colleges could have gained from another provision in the higher education bill, to give colleges money for their general operating expenses. Quie and Fraser wanted to make sure that help would go to colleges in proportion to the number of needy students enrolled, a concession of particular value to small colleges which cater to minority groups. They lost this battle, too. The House voted instead to distribute funds according to the total number of students in college and the number of high school graduates in the state, with economic need as a third and minor criterion. Private, expensive colleges – with relatively few poor students – will benefit.

# Candidate McCarthy

Eugene McCarthy isn't returning to presidential politics; he never left. Since January, he has been in 33 states, some of them several times. Since late July, when he gathered a handful of key supporters in New York to discuss his future, he has appeared in 19 states. The exact role he has mapped out for himself is still unclear, but it's clearer than it was before October 29. On that day a letter went out to upwards of 150,000 people telling them McCarthy plans to set up "a formal campaign committee" and setting out three areas of special concern to him: Vietnam and the failure of the administration to deal effectively with domestic problems; reform of the political process in 1972 against the backdrop of what he considers mismanagement of the party since 1968; positive efforts to elect delegates "with views similar to ours." In private conversation, McCarthy has stressed his desire to avoid a bloodbath on the party's left by competition with a McGovern or a Lindsay or a Harris for the same delegates. He sees himself challenging those he claims have "mismanaged" the party, not those who generally share his outlook.

McCarthy hasn't hesitated to take a politically unorthodox position in off-year and upcoming primary contests. He sent $2000 in checks to a fund raiser for state Senator Henry E. Howell, who ran and won as an independent for lieutenant governor of Virginia. He stumped the campuses of the Philadelphia area for the unsuccessful GOP mayoral nominee Thacher Longstreth. He dipped into the upcoming Illinois gubernatorial primary by hosting a party for Democrat Dan Walker, who is challenging the Daley organization.

McCarthy's first move in July set in motion a rash of organizing in the upper Midwest, primarily in his home state of Minnesota. There, ex-McCarthy staffer John Connolly has taken the lead in shaping up an organization which now reaches into all eight congressional districts, involves several thousand people and will do nothing to nourish the hopes of Sen. Hubert Humphrey, who wants to launch his own presidential bid with a resounding victory in that

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state's caucuses in early February. Elsewhere, however, organizational activity for McCarthy has been slight.

His campus appearances have been generally successful. He often speaks to standing-room-only crowds who give him standing ovations, then listen carefully to his discourses on the moral role of youth, their accomplishments in helping turn the country against the war, and the need to challenge the militarism of US foreign policy. He pledges a real choice in 1972, even if a fourth party is necessary to do it. Some polls are promising. One in Oregon found him third among all voters but first among those in the the 18-30 age bracket.

Among his devotees, the feeling is widespread that he must formally announce and run hard if he is to assert himself effectively. Is his Oct. 29 letter enough? It's too early to tell. What happens in key states like Massachusetts, New York and California in the weeks ahead will tell much more. If the letter is followed by appointment of a campaign manager and the selection of primary and nonprimary target states, all that would remain would be McCarthy's pro-forma declaration of candidacy. To some who admire him, it still looks like McCarthy is flirting with humiliation, a fate they don't wish for the man who shook the political establishment out of its lethargy in 1968. The letter doubtless encouraged many to hold off on making other commitments. The next move is his.

## Project MUM

Remember Army spying? Only vaguely. The dramatic revelations of how Army and other federal spooks protect the Republic from Adlai Stevenson II, fiery speeches, citizens' petitions, letters to the editor, and other such threats to national security have tapered off since last spring's hearings by Senator Sam J. Ervin. The story has faded away. That's what the Army wanted; it has gone mute.

It seems that after the spring hearings, Ervin asked the Army to produce the answers to a number of unanswered questions: Who ordered the snooping? Who in the Johnson administration knew what? Was this a case of generals running wild, or were they merely carrying out orders? Did the Nixon administration really put an end to the spying, or did it merely shift it elsewhere? How many computers were there? Whose names were in them? Where did the records go? Was this a solo job, or did the Army get cooperation from others? Who else had computers?

The Ervin hearings didn't get very far beyond establishing that the spying went on. We haven't yet been told how widespread it was, where the information went, or what it was supposed to be used for. For example, is it now available to the Subversive Activities Control Board to use to go after the same groups and people the Army spied on?

Senator Ervin has tried, unsuccessfully, to find out. He has repeatedly asked the Army to produce for questioning the generals who were in charge. He says they could tell what they did, who they did it to, why, and who told them to do it. The politicians have so far made the generals bear all the blame; they might have interesting things to say in their own defense. Ervin has also asked for copies of various reports, documents, and papers that raise questions about electronic surveillance, disobedience of orders, and lying to high officials and to Congress.

The senator does have copies of some classified papers, as well as some of the actual print-outs of the Army computers. But needless to say, he won't disclose the names of any victims not already publicly identified; he's a respecter of the law, perhaps too much so, and won't make public classified information even if he thinks it is wrongly classified. Yet the Army refuses to loosen the classification so that Ervin can present his report. Why not? Well, replies the Army, because that would invade the privacy of the people named in the computer printouts!

If the whole story of Army surveillance were told, the revelations would be even more outrageous than most of us thought. According to Rep. Ogden Reid (R, NY) who has kept up his interest in the matter, the Army's civilian surveillance activities were widely known in government in 1968. *The New York Times* a few months ago published classified documents laying it all at Ramsey Clark's door. But are Nixon and Laird protecting Ramsey Clark? What does it take to get the truth on the record? A Daniel Ellsberg?

## Yes and No

Among the political questions of the week were: Could Democratic congresswoman Louise Day Hicks, who hates busing and has been running for something or other in Boston for 10 years and who may be about to lose her seat in the US House of Representatives to reapportionment, beat an undemagogic but popular Democratic Mayor Kevin White who is seeking reelection? Answer: no. Could a mayor of San Francisco, Joseph Alioto, who has been accused of everything from associating with racketeers to fee-splitting, conspiracy, mail fraud and bribery win a second term and what doesn't amount to a vote of confidence when the vote is split by two major opponents, one of whom is a woman supported by the gay liberation movement? Answer: yes. Could black mayor, Richard Hatcher, who won 90 percent of the black vote in Gary, Indiana's Democratic primary not to mention 26 percent of the white vote, win again over a white Republican busi-

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nessman Theodore Nering in a city which has a majority of blacks and hasn't elected a Republican since 1938? Answer: yes. Could the first black mayor of Cleveland, Carl Stokes, name a black successor in a Democratic city with a 40 percent black population and thus set himself up as a successful black power broker in national politics and incidentally in the process defeat Republican Ralph Perk who had run against Stokes and was not expected to become the first Republican mayor of Cleveland in 30 years? Answer: no.

## Only in America

The election of Frank L. Rizzo, former police commissioner as mayor of Philadelphia by a 48,524 vote margin (out of a total vote of 749,000) is strong evidence of a drift away from attempts to find constructive solutions to the racial and social deterioration of the cities. Rizzo, 51, piled up the vote in working-class, Jewish, Italian and many white middle-class wards, leaving moderate Republican Thacher Longstreth, 50, the white university and society neighborhoods and all but one of the city's black wards, where 260,000 black voters live in conditions that could have spawned the word "ghetto." Rizzo ignored the black areas, and friends and foes alike read his slogan "Rizzo Means Business" as a warning to blacks and a promise to whites. As the blacks voted Republican, Italian Republicans in South Philadelphia voted Democratic. One Republican precinct captain there said: "I gave my workers their money, the street lists and my literature. They brought people to the polls, but they told them to vote for Rizzo."

Rizzo's program for the city, after he "unites all the people," promises 2000 more policemen, no new taxes, repeal of five business taxes, financial aid to parochial schools, tax exemptions for the aged, and "task forces" to study minority problems and health. Of Democrats with Presidential ambitions, only Henry Jackson of Washington publicly congratulated Rizzo. When Longstreth conceded, Rizzo said, "Only in America could something like this happen."

## And in Mississippi

"This is just the beginning. We haven't lost, we won today. We've done more to change those mean white folks than ever before." But despite these confident concession remarks by the ever-smiling gubernatorial candidate, Charles Evers, the election in Mississippi had thrown a pall over the black community and the small core of white liberals and radicals. Of more than 280 local candidates whose election was the real purpose of Evers' campaign, there may be as few as 28 winners. Nationally famous black candidates went down to defeat—Aaron Henry, Fannie Lou Hamer. Black-backed white moderates like Hazel Brannon Smith lost.

The white, regular Democrats' strategy was to bury Evers-led challengers in a deluge of white voters, to discourage future political effort by the emerging black-white liberal coalition, and to discredit their claim to be the real Democratic Party in the state. The strategy worked. Said Sen. Stennis at the final rally for Governor-elect Bill Waller, "They're trying to wreck our system. So we must go to the polls and overwhelm the opposition." Strangely, blacks lost even in localities in which black voters vastly outnumbered whites. Evers is sueing in federal court for new elections supervised by federal troops.

# Waiting For Welfare

In popular association, the word "welfare" goes with "mess" as naturally as "military-industrial" goes with "complex." Not without good reason. Benefit allowances for the needy vary capriciously from state to state. Some of the regulations bearing on their disposition are unfair and self-defeating. Many of the poor, particularly the working poor, are uncovered entirely. Even in the most generous states, welfare allowances have done little more for the majority of the indigent than sustain an ugly "culture" of ignorance, hopelessness and self-denigration. Meanwhile, the costs of welfare have been escalating, bringing some states and cities to the threshold of financial disaster. The picture is so bleak that almost any retouching would be welcome.

The Nixon administration's welfare bill, passed by the House last summer (after some doctoring by Ways and Means Committee Chairman Wilbur Mills), would correct the worst of present deficiencies, though it has serious shortcomings of its own. The bill, known as HR 1, would establish for the first time a national minimum for welfare payments (fixed at $2400 for a family of four), would embrace the working poor and provide complete federal funding for these national minimums. Its chief fault is that it trusts the richer and more progressive states, in which welfare benefits are now greater than the newly proposed minimums, to pick up the check for the difference in order to maintain their present standards. Given the budget-cutting mood of the states, some would sooner bet that the next World Series will be played in Alaska. A second possible deficiency is the opportunity for harassment of the poor that some

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believe resides in the bill's work provisions: employable welfare recipients are required to accept vocational training or jobs, when offered, or sacrifice their benefits. To its credit, HR 1 provides for 200,000 public-service jobs. In any case, the administration's contribution to reform lies temporarily stranded in the Senate, a hostage to its own anti-inflation strategy.

Partly to pry it out, but at least as much to correct the faults of HR 1, 18 senators, led by Abraham Ribicoff (D, Conn.), have introduced their own version of a welfare bill. It would assure a more generous minimum welfare payment, with federal financing, starting at $3000 for a family of four and rising gradually to the full national poverty guideline (now at $3920) by 1976. More important, Ribicoff would require states which today pay higher than the minimum to maintain the differentials, with 30 percent of the supplemental cost to be met by the federal government. Thus no welfare family could possibly lose – as it might under the Nixon-Mills bill – while of course most would gain, some enormously. While maintaining a work requirement, the Ribicoff bill contains greater legal protection for welfare families, including due process and a right to counsel. And finally, more than a billion dollars is allocated for 300,000 public-service jobs, against 200,000 in HR 1.

Meritorious as the Ribicoff reform is, and it is the best thus far, there are two important changes that should be made. Living costs are very different in different parts of the country, and unless such differentials are recognized in the schedule of welfare allowances, the allowances are bound to be unfairly distributed. A quite sufficient allowance in a small Alabama or Mississippi town would be grotesquely inadequate in New York City or Chicago. Nor can the states be entrusted to reflect these differences faithfully in their supplementary allowances, since they haven't done so in the past. The differentials should be fixed federally, by formula, based on Bureau of Labor Statistics studies.

Secondly, though more generous than its predecessors, the Ribicoff bill underestimates the need for public employment. It may be that the 18 senators have been misled, for the groundless assertion has been made repeatedly, and included in some "authoritative" works on social legislation, that only one percent of those on welfare are employable. That statement some months ago found its way into one of Senator Ribicoff's speeches. The facts are directly opposite. If jobs were available, and especially in a recession they can *only* be made available by government, most of those now on welfare, or eligible to be under the new legislation, would be self-supporting.

The proportion of eligible welfare households headed by males and by females is about 50-50. An analysis by the House Ways and Means Committee last summer showed that 85 percent of the males, and 50 percent of the females, had some work experience during the previous year, despite the poor job market. An HEW survey showed that three-fourths of the women would accept jobs if they could get them. Furthermore, no one knows how many of the households officially headed by women include men who duck when the social worker visits because of the man-in-the-house rule and similar regulations. All in all, if public employment were available, it seems conservative to estimate that three-fourths of all welfare families, embracing about 15 million men, women and children, would be removed from welfare roles. Remaining would be six million aged, blind and disabled, plus five million others. But to accomplish this transformation, which would represent a forthright assault on the roots rather than the stalks of poverty, would require providing three million public jobs, not 300,000.

Senator Ribicoff estimates his bill would cost $22 billion. The *gross* addition to costs of three million public jobs would come to $11 billion, based on the senator's data, though in my estimation it might be closer to $15 billion; after deducting the saving in welfare allowances, however, the *net* cost would be no more than $4 billion. Given the contribution that three million new workers would make to themselves, their families and in public service to society, and given the available alternatives, their employment would be a bargain.

**Melville J. Ulmer**

## The Nixon Watch

# Leadership and Aid

The defeat of the foreign aid bill in the Senate, an event that is discussed on page 5, hit the Nixon White House with particular force because it came at a time when things seemed to be going well for the President on the foreign policy front. Mr. Nixon was confident that his imminent report on past and intended withdrawal from Vietnam would further disarm the critics of his war policy and demonstrate a will for peace on his part that they could not convincingly question. Attempts to restrict his freedom of maneuver in Southeast Asia had been repeatedly beaten down in the Senate and the House of Representatives. In the aftermath of Henry Kissinger's second visit to Peking, the President's trip early next year to Communist China was shaping up as a venture with a promise of considerably more substantive accomplishment than had seemed likely when Kissinger returned from his first preparatory journey in July. The announcement that a summit conference in Moscow would follow the Peking visit appeared to place Mr. Nixon in the rewarding posture of a President in full command of his foreign problems, directing a series of historic turns in

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national attitudes and policy that would, if all went as planned, make him an unbeatable candidate for re-election in 1972.

Beyond the sheer shock of the Senate vote, two factors contributed to the White House malaise. One of them was that the President and the assistants who are supposed to protect him from discomfiting surprise were totally surprised. Former Congressman Clark MacGregor of Minnesota, the President's chief lobbyist, left town on the afternoon of the disaster to make a speech and visit his daughters in New England. Secretary of State Rogers and his departmental lobbyists were equally astounded. The fact that some of the senators who voted down the bill didn't realize that they were killing it instead of merely, as in years past, venting their discontents in a harmless way, did not mitigate the impression that the gap of communication and understanding between the President and Congress was dangerously wide. The second factor was even more painful. The defeat and the White House reaction to it highlighted past and recent flaws of judgment and leadership that marred the nurtured image of a wise and far-sighted President.

The notion, pumped up and magnified by hostile members of the White House press corps, that Mr. Nixon brought the defeat upon himself was absurd. The countervailing notion that he had nothing to do with it was also absurd. His contributions to public and congressional frustration with foreign aid date back to his 1968 campaign. His line then was "Let us help our friends who help themselves, but let us not help any who help our enemies." The roars of crowd approval that his words and his manner aroused should have indicated to any sensitive observer that Nixon the candidate was playing the game with foreign aid that he played with welfare, professing to support it while appealing to popular dislike of it. Only last April, proposing reforms that many Senate critics of the present programs advocate in principle but have done woefully little to bring about, the President argued that drastic changes are necessary if the country is to have "an effective US foreign assistance program." On a lower plane, his cavalier call in August for a 10 percent cut in foreign aid as part of the budget reductions proposed in connection with his revised economic policy, was more damaging and thoughtless than it was generally perceived to be. Mr. Nixon neither knew nor seemingly cared where the cuts were to come from when he ordered them, and the congenital foes in Congress were justified in taking his action as a signal that foreign aid stood almost as low in the President's priorities as it did in theirs. His crass reaction on October 27 to the display of pleasure at the UN General Assembly after the Taiwan Nationalists were expelled was a witless and unintended, and therefore all the more deplorable, invitation to take out the irritation that he shared with many others in a savage and undiscriminating blow at foreign assistance. It remains true, of course, that the bill was not defeated at the White House. It was defeated in the Senate, in one of the body's least glorious moments. But it may fairly be hoped that Mr. Nixon and his counsellors reflect upon his contributions to the defeat and discern in them, with due humility and a will to correction, the flaws in his judgment and leadership they illuminate.

This said, any reasonable person must agree with Secretary Rogers' plaintive remark at the White House on November 2 that this of all times was the poorest of times for so gross a blow at a major and necessary instrument of foreign policy. He cited among other reasons the emerging readjustment of the American position in Asia and, by implication, the President's approaching personal negotiations with the leaders of Communist China. A degree of secrecy that is remarkable even for the secretive Nixon administration shrouds the preparations. Secretary Rogers discusses what he knows about them with only three officials at State (Under Secretary Alexis Johnson, Assistant Secretary Marshall Green, and Communist affairs specialist Alfred Jenkins), and they are forbidden to discuss the subject either with reporters or with the press officers who normally give journalists the illusion that they are being adequately informed. The White House and State assistants who accompanied Kissinger on his second trip to Peking were forbidden after they returned to say they did or didn't have a good time, much less divulge any fact of substance, however trivial. In one of his very few reportable sessions with the press, Kissinger said little more than that Mr. Nixon will go to Peking after January 1 and that the precise date of the visit will be announced before December 1. A reporter's understanding of what may be in prospect must therefore be read as just that and nothing more, and what follows is nothing more than that.

The official guidance (from Kissinger at the aforementioned press conference) that no issues "that primarily affect third countries" will be discussed in Peking is somewhat misleading. Every conceivable issue that is worthy of discussion between Mr. Nixon and Premier Chou En-lai and Mao Tse-tung is bound to be of great if not "primary" interest to many "third countries." One such issue is the Nixon approach to a negotiated settlement of the Vietnam war, and it is on the agenda prepared by Kissinger and Chou. This does not affect or alter Kissinger's statement that "we do not expect to settle" the Vietnam war in Peking, meaning that any settlement must be negotiated with Hanoi in Paris and that Mr. Nixon neither expects nor intends to ask the Chinese leaders to further a negotiated settlement. But that does not debar the President from expounding his view of a feasible settlement and inviting Chou En-lai and Mao to expound their's to him. Nor does it debar a hope that such an exchange of views will promote, at least indirectly, a

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negotiated settlement that the US and Communist China can live with. After Kissinger's first trip to Peking, the hope and expectation were that Hanoi would have been brought into serious negotiation in Paris before the President goes to Peking. That is still the hope. It was one of the reasons for announcing originally that the Nixon trip could occur as late as next May 1. Whether useful negotiation is still expected before Mr. Nixon goes to Peking, I do not know.

Similar considerations apply to the delicate question of relationship with the Nationalist "Republic of China" on Taiwan. The President does not propose to tell Chou and Mao what they should do about Taiwan, or agree in Peking to anything that the Taiwan government has no choice but to accept. Now that Communist China has been admitted to the UN and Taiwan has been expelled, however, the President is free to an extent that he would not otherwise have been to discuss in Peking the hope that he broadly indicated in his statement of foreign policy last January. The President's hope is that time and experience will close the rift between the two Chinese governments in a way that leaves the Taiwan nationalists substantial autonomy and satisfies the claim of the People's Republic to be the one and only sovereign Chinese power.

**John Osborne**

## Roy Jenkins' Future

# Labour Pains

*London*

For a proud nation the decision to sue for membership in the Common Market went against the grain. The parliamentary vote in favor of the entry terms produced no singing in the streets, but there is nonetheless an almost universal recognition that the deed has been done. Even the Beaverbrook press – throughout the past decade the noisiest opponent of the European cause – has now hauled down its anti-Market flag. Only Mr. Wilson and the more old-fashioned members of the Labour Party show any readiness to carry on the anti-European fight, and their current political state after the prime minister's tactical coup in splitting the Labour Opposition down the middle is scarcely such as to suggest that even they can believe they have any real hope of success.

No one should minimize Mr. Heath's triumph. An unlovable – some would say an unlovely – man, he has proved with the handling of the European issue how much single-minded determination can achieve in politics. From the moment that he won the 1970 election he allowed neither lack of enthusiasm in his own party nor active antagonism outside it to deflect him from the purpose he set himself over a decade ago when his own negotiations at Brussels were blocked by the de Gaulle veto. For him the achievement of getting the House of Commons to accept by a massive 112 vote majority the terms his successor had managed to secure from a now united six must have represented the fulfillment of a personal dream. For Mr. Wilson, on the other hand, the final parliamentary denouement constituted something much more like a political nightmare. For the prime minister has not only won the European battle, he has also managed to provoke what is virtually a mutiny in the Labour Party's ranks. True, no less than 39 Conservatives voted against the entry terms recommended by their own government, but by cunningly taking off the whips at the very last moment Mr. Heath reduced this revolt to little more than a symbolic demonstration. By contrast, the 69 Labour MPs who voted with the government – and the further 20 who pointedly abstained – did so in defiance of every pressure their party could impose upon them. In the end it has not been Mr. Heath's leadership that has been put in jeopardy by the European issue, but rather his rival Mr. Wilson's.

Faced with such disarray, the Labour Party is currently providing the public with one of those brutal lion-and-Christians spectacles that something in its nature seems to require at least once in every decade. The left – claiming that it was only the treachery of the party's pro-European defectors which allowed Mr. Heath's government to survive in the Market debate – is openly out for blood. In particular it wants the scalp of the party's deputy leader Mr. Roy Jenkins, who unlike Mr. Wilson did not change his attitude on Europe as a result of passing from government into opposition. Mr. Jenkins has always been the acknowledged head of the party's pro-European faction and he comes up for reelection to his post as deputy leader later this month. In the present atmosphere of bitterness and recrimination his chances of holding onto it are not rated good even by his friends. But Mr. Jenkins, unleashed, will be a far greater threat to Harold Wilson than Mr. Jenkins, harnessed to the present leadership. Mr. Wilson has made the fatal mistake for any manipulative politician of allowing a viable alternative leader to emerge. Already it is possible to draw up a possible screenplay of the effect of Common Market entry on British politics over the next two or three years. With his initial massive parliamentary mandate behind him, Mr. Heath will get his Commons majorities for the legislation needed to adjust British law to the rules of the European community. Mr. Wilson will exhaust the energies of the Labour Party – and the patience of the British public – with his assaults on what is already regarded by most people as foregone conclusion. At some stage Mr. Heath will call an election. Sick and tired of the whole

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argument, the public will vote for the party that at least appears to have decided something. In defeat, even Labour Party loyalists will have to accept that Mr. Wilson has been discredited as a leader, and to whom then will they have to turn? At the moment none of them would dream of admitting it – but the one figure who can hope to emerge unscathed from the whole bruising process is none other than the man they are now desperately trying to make the scapegoat for all the party's troubles. If Mr. Roy Jenkins is wise he will not despair. Instead, like Brer Rabbit, he will simply lie low.

**Anthony Howard**

## Farewell to Foreign Aid

# Why I Voted No

## by Frank Church

When revolution comes – as it likely will in many of the still "stable" countries of the third world – it will bear no resemblance to the kind of benign, gradual "takeoff" into self-sustaining growth envisioned by American aid officials and private investors. The notion that a stable, nonrevolutionary social structure is the essential condition of economic development is a self-serving rationalization. It enables American policymakers to believe that the interests of the United States, as they conceive them, are identical with the social and economic interests of the poor countries. "Stability," they insist, is not only essential for the exclusion of Communism and the preservation of American influence; it is also in the best interests of the developing countries themselves, because – so the argument runs – revolution means violence, disruption, inefficient management, and the loss of investment capital as well. In this way, we rationalize our support for regimes whose very existence is the principal barrier in their countries to real economic development and social justice.

The conditions essential for development are not so much economic and technological as they are psychological and political. No infusion of capital and know-how from without can galvanize a society in which the rewards of development are grabbed up by a small privileged caste while the majority of people are left hopeless, debilitated and demoralized. As the Brazilian bishop Dom Antonio Batista Fragoso put it, "We do not need paternalistic redemption. We need conditions so that those who are now abandoned may free themselves from their own underdevelopment with their own united force . . . the poor have no hope in those who still have economic power. And the poor are those who struggle for justice. If those who fight for justice are called subversive, then subversion is their hope."

In countries long under the domination of corrupt oligarchies nothing less than a radical redistribution of political power may be the essential precondition for economic development. If the bulk of the people are to make the concerted effort and accept the enormous sacrifices required for lifting a society out of chronic poverty, they have got to have some belief in the integrity of their leaders, in the commitment of those leaders to social justice, and in the *equality* of sacrifice required of the people. Reactionary regimes have neither the ability nor the interest to foster such a conception of social justice. They value aid from the United States as a means of maintaining, not of abolishing, inequalities of wealth and power. The lip service paid to reform is a crumb for their benefactors; it helps to make the Americans feel good and it costs them nothing. In fact, American economic aid is commonly used to promote industrialization programs which generate a high level of consumption for the privileged, with little, if any, "trickle-down" benefit for the dispossessed. At the same time, American military assistance, and such para-military programs as the training and equipping of a country's police force, help such regimes as those of Brazil, Greece and Pakistan to suppress reformist movements. In this way, American aid is being used not to promote development but for the quite opposite purpose of supporting

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FRANK CHURCH, *United States Senator from Idaho, is a member of the Foreign Relations Committee.* *This article is based on a major floor speech, largely unreported, delivered before the Senate voted 41 to 27 to reject the foreign aid authorization bill.*

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the rule of corrupt and stagnant – but vociferously anti-Communist – dictatorships.

Even if we should succeed in purging our minds of the anti-Communist obsession which has driven us into league with military dictatorships and oppressive oligarchies all over the globe, it would still be all but impossible for us to promote radical reform in the countries of the third world. Even indeed if we were a revolutionary society ourselves and were committed to a revolutionary conception of development – as most assuredly we are not – there is still very little we could do to foster social revolution in alien societies. The catalyst of radical change in any society must be an indigenous nationalism giving rise to a sense of community, commitment and shared sacrifice.

I do not suggest that the United States prefers or admires the dictatorial regimes it subsidizes, but only that there is little we can do with our aid to change them, all the more since these regimes can blackmail us so easily with the threat of Communism if they should fail. The Kennedy Administration did make an effort to encourage democratic and progressive policies in countries to which it extended aid, especially in Latin America, but that effort was a failure and the reasons for that failure are instructive. We failed because we had neither the ability to impose reform from outside nor the will to pursue it from within. The one was simply impossible; the other went against the priority of our own interests as we conceived them. However much we may have wanted reform and development, we wanted "stability," anti-Communism and a favorable climate for investment more. The experience of twenty years of aid shows that we can neither bring about fundamental reform in tradition-encrusted societies nor prevent revolution in those countries where the tide of change runs deep and strong; all we can really do is to service the *status quo* in countries where it is not strongly challenged anyhow.

There is abundant evidence that our foreign aid program is much less philanthropic than we have cared to portray. Indeed, the figures suggest that it is patently self-serving. Former AID Director William Gaud discloses that, as a result of tied loans "ninety-three percent of AID funds are spent directly in the United States. . . . Just last year some 4000 American firms in fifty states received $1.3 billion in AID funds for products supplied as part of the foreign aid program." Similarly, George D. Woods, former President of the World Bank, has observed that "bilateral programs of assistance have had as one of their primary objectives helping the high-income countries themselves; they have looked toward financing export sales, toward tactical support of diplomacy, toward holding military positions thought to be strategic."

The oft-asserted lament that our foreign aid program lacks a constituency in the United States is just another of those myths we hold dear. Actually, our bilateral aid program is, in effect, the soft-loan window of the Export-Import Bank; it is the source from which foreign governments borrow money on easy terms with which to buy goods and services from within the United States. As such, it enjoys a lively constituency which exerts steady pressure on the government to keep the program going.

In addition to financing American exports, our foreign aid, both economic and military, has encouraged relationships of sustained dependency on the United States. In many underdeveloped countries, repressive governments draw reassurance from the arms we furnish and the military training we supply. As the source of money and weapons for their armies and police forces, the US government acquires a certain leverage over these regimes, while they last. Enticed by attractive credit terms, by growing familiarity with American equipment, reliance on American replacement parts, by bargain prices on obsolete equipment, training programs for their soldiers and police, and the sales promotion techniques of our military advisory missions, these governments soon enough learn to "think American."

No less than military aid, our economic assistance creates and perpetuates relationships of dependency. The law requires, for example, that aid shipments be carried only in American ships and that purchases be made only in the United States. Because of these and other requirements, the Peterson Report estimates that United States aid costs recipients about 15 percent more than world market prices.

Surplus food shipments under PL 480, on its face the most philanthropic of aid programs, in fact have served to unload costly surpluses, "at virtually no economic cost to the United States," according to economist Michael Hudson, a former balance-of-payments analyst for the Chase-Manhattan Bank. At the same time, Hudson points out, the PL 480 program has put the aid-receiving countries in debt to us to the extent of some $22 billion, "thereby tying them to the purse-strings of the State Department and the United States Treasury for nearly twenty years to come."

Dependency on the United States grows steadily too with the mounting burden of servicing past debts. The Peterson Report acknowledges that mounting debts, which must be continually refinanced on an emergency basis, keep the poor countries on a "short leash." As grace periods end on loans falling due in the 1970's and poor countries find themselves paying out ever greater amounts to finance past debts, new loans will be effectively neutralized and the poor countries will be threatened with economic paralysis. The upshot may well someday be a general default on debt payments to the United States reminiscent of the defaults on war debts which complicated and disrupted our relations with European countries in the '30s and helped to drive us deeper into isolationism.

Nowhere have we seen more clearly the ineffec-

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tiveness of aid as a deterrent to revolutionary pressures and as an instrument for the reconstruction of traditional societies than in Latin America. The Alliance for Progress represents the high water mark of our innocence in supposing that we could liberate traditional societies from their centuries' long legacy of tyranny and stagnation with a little bit of seed capital and some stirring rhetoric. It is true that the *per capita* income of Latin American countries has risen during the years of the Alliance for Progress, but it has risen in so unbalanced and inequitable a way that the gains have gone almost entirely to the 20 percent of the population who live within the modern economy. The benefits accruing to the lower 80 percent have not even kept up with population growth, so that they have become both relatively and absolutely poorer. Progress, though visible, is illusory. Shining modern cities have arisen and the Alliance for Progress has brought roads, transistor radios and Coca Cola to the Latin American countryside, but their social impact is negative and disruptive. Labor-saving devices make life more comfortable for the affluent few but they do not add to *per capita* output and they add to unemployment where there were labor surpluses to begin with. Indeed the effect of this distorted and inequitable development, which widens the gap between rich and poor, is demoralizing to the poor and therefore detrimental to genuine development.

The distortions of public aid to Latin America are heightened by the impact of private investment. Although United States direct investment in Latin America grew from $8 billion to $15 billion during the 1960's and continues to grow at the rate of $1 billion a year, according to Gary MacEoin, United States companies withdraw $2 in dividends, royalties and other payments for every new dollar they invest. United States private companies exercise a "double negative impact": at the same time that they decapitalize Latin America by the withdrawal of profits, they plow back a part of their profits to gain increasing control of the mineral assets, industry and production of Latin American countries. Under this devastating North American onslaught, resentment of the United States has grown apace and increasing numbers of Latin Americans have become convinced that they are the victims of a virulent new imperialism. As one Chilean political scientist commented on the experience of the 1960s, "If that is what one decade of development does for us, spare us from another. Foreign aid has been used, not to develop us, but to achieve the political purposes of the donors, to smother us in debt, to buy up our most dynamic productive assets."

In both Latin America and the rest of the third world the conviction is taking increasing hold that the poverty of the poor countries is not the result of imperfections in the old "models" of development but rather the *inevitable* result of the policies and practices of the rich countries. In his recent book, *The Challenge of World Poverty*, Gunnar Myrdal describes how the reforms promised in the Alliance for Progress were "rapidly emasculated by interaction between the holders of power in Latin America, including the American corporations working there, and the United States Government and Congress." The resulting economic and social relationship, not only between the United States and Latin America but generally between the rich and poor countries of the world, may not be one of deliberate, malicious exploitation, but we can hardly deny the name given to it by the Brazilian economist Helio Jaguaribe. It is, he says, "an objectively imperialist system."

I can no longer cast my vote to prolong the bilateral aid program, (estimated cost: approximately $44 billion over the next five years) as it is now administered. I could understand – though perhaps not condone – a foreign aid program that is essentially self-serving. We live, after all, in a selfish world. But the present program is designed primarily to serve private business interests at the expense of the American people. In far too many countries, as in the case of Brazil, we poured in our aid money for one overriding purpose, the stabilization of the economy in order to furnish American capital with a "favorable climate for investment." The search for foreign investment opportunities by the largest American corporations is relentless and irrepressible, as the biggest profits are to be found abroad, where the tax bite can frequently be reduced or averted. Moreover, the risk of loss due to political instability, riot, revolution or expropriation, has been largely lifted from the investor and shifted to the US Government. OPIC, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, backed by the Federal Government, readily insures American companies against risks abroad for which no comparable insurance is available at home. The multimillion dollar losses incurred by American copper companies, resulting from the nationalization of their holdings by Allende's Marxist regime in Chile, are likely to be borne – not by the companies that eagerly invested there – but by the American taxpayer. Our foreign aid program has become a spreading money tree under which the biggest American businesses find shelter when they invest abroad! Small wonder that the crumbling ghettoes in our cities, along with our declining rural communities, have to beg and scrounge for new capital!

The major preoccupation of the present foreign aid program is the massive disbursement of munitions which we either give away or make available at bargain basement prices. We ply half a hundred foreign governments with our weaponry. Most of the world has become a dumping ground for ships, tanks and planes, which we label as excess to our needs. Easy credit is available at interest rates well below the cost

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of money to the US Government. The Military Assistance Program has become a preposterous scandal. It should be drastically curtailed, not enlarged.

As for our long-term bilateral loans made in the name of promoting economic development, it is long past time that this function were passed over entirely to the World Bank, the Asian Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank and other multilateral lending agencies, which were set up for this purpose. I am prepared, now and in the future, to support substantial US contributions to these agencies. In this manner, we could set a worthy example of international responsibility and beckon other rich nations to share the load with us.

I would confine our bilateral aid in the future to technical assistance grants, administered, where feasible, by the Peace Corps. It was through technical assistance – the successor to Harry Truman's original Point 4 – that the "green revolution" was achieved in Asia and the hand of famine stayed. This aspect of our foreign aid, involving outright grants, not loans, has constituted the worthiest part of the program. On account of it – and in hopes that the objectionable parts would be whittled down and ultimately displaced – I have tarried too long as a supporter and indulged in too much wishful thinking. Events of the past few weeks on Capitol Hill have finally dispelled my illusions. Instead of cutting back on the foreign aid package, Congress is about to enlarge on it. We are in the process of doing the same with the gigantic military budget, approving more money for the Pentagon this year than we spent at the height of our involvement in Vietnam. Incredible, but true!

The acquiescence of Congress to these money demands of the Nixon administration makes it clear that we have no disposition, despite all the pious talk, of changing our spending habits. The "new priorities" promised the American people won't be realized, as long as we refuse to cut our huge foreign and military spending. The long-neglected problems of crime, drugs, poverty and pollution, which afflict so many of our people here at home, will continue to fester and grow. I would advocate, as an alternative to the palliative of aid, that we lend positive support to developing countries by entering into commercial arrangements that redress the terms of trade which are now rigged against them.

As with so many of the difficult questions that divide and agitate our society, the answer to the dilemma of aid lies not abroad, not in the slums of Calcutta or in the rural backlands of Brazil, but within ourselves. Essentially, the question is whether we are prepared to recognize the limits of our own capacity – the moral and political as well as the technical and economic limits – and allow nature to take what may well be an uncongenial course in many countries of the third world. The question, to put it another way, is whether we can recognize that there are some things we simply cannot do – such as restructuring another country through our own efforts – and other things that we cannot permanently prevent – such as social revolution, where and when its time has come.

The dilemma of aid is not fundamentally different from the dilemma of Vietnam. It is a problem of power – our own power, the uses to which we wish to put it, and the moral and intellectual limitations which have resulted in such wide discrepancies between our intentions and our accomplishments. The dominant political attitude of the '60s was one of extravagant self-confidence. We were filled up and infatuated with the "simple fact" – to quote Professor Walt Rostow – "that we are the greatest power in the world – if we behave like it." Now, in the wake of sobering tragedy, a new outlook begins to take shape, and one may hope that it will affect our thinking in matters ranging far beyond Vietnam. Having concentrated for a decade and more on the growth and uses of power, we may now perhaps be willing to cultivate other national attributes – such as prudence and common sense. If so, we may be prepared to come to terms with such conditions of our time as the following: that our social engineering, as applied to the poor countries of the world, has shown itself to be irrelevant and disruptive; that the threat of Communism in the third world is exaggerated and, in any case, beyond the lasting reach of our aid programs; that for many countries radical revolution is the only real hope for development and the single most helpful thing we can do is to leave them alone.

Contrary to the development "models" worked out in the '60s by our Agency for International Development, it now appears that thoroughgoing social revolution is the necessary prerequisite for the development of much of the third world. There is nothing the United States can or should do to *promote* revolution – to do so indeed would violate the United Nations Charter and sound traditional standards of diplomacy. What we can and should do is to stop promoting counterrevolution.

Several years ago Alan Moorehead wrote a book called *The Fatal Impact* in which he recounted the disastrous and largely unintended effects upon the Tahitians and Australian aborigines of the diseases, alcohol, firearms, laws and concepts of morality brought to the South Pacific by the early European explorers and colonists. Reflecting on his own voyages to Polynesia, Captain Cook himself wrote that "It would have been better for these people never to have known us." It would represent a noteworthy advance in the standards of international relations if the United States, profiting from its own experience as well as that of others, could lift its well-intentioned but no less fatal impact from the face of the third world, so that in time it may appear that it was not so bad after all for them to have known us.

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# The World We're In

## *An Interview with Walter Lippmann by Ronald Steel*

*Ronald Steel:* What do you think of President Nixon's overtures to China and his projected visit to Peking?
*Walter Lippmann:* The approach to China which resulted in the invitation is really a great historical event. It's one of the biggest reversals that I know of in history, where the world's most powerful country and the world's largest country completely changed their role vis-a-vis one another.

The consequences of that will take a long time to play out and are unpredictable at this moment. But when you have a world divided into two and you then change it into a world divided into four – China, the Soviet Union, the United States and Japan – it will produce a wholly different result.

The mere going to China, the willingness to accept the invitation, is in itself an acknowledgement of a colossal error that the United States made at the beginning of the Cold War. That's when we departed from the old American doctrine that the government we recognized, whether we liked it or not, was the one that governed the country. That error has had enormous consequences, because having made the decision to treat the People's Republic of China as an enemy, we then made a great number of promises and commitments to carry out that decision – such as the policy with Taiwan, and the various treaties and guarantees we scattered around the eastern side of the Pacific.

Those commitments were made in good faith and can't be thrown aside lightly, even though we now admit the premise was an error. It will probably take a generation to correct the consequences of having made such a big mistake. My view is that it is better to have made the mistake and to correct it than to persist in it. It's a mistake that can be corrected by a strong power, without humiliation necessarily, and with a certain amount of good faith. The willingness to admit the mistake and adjust to it, to make decisions quietly, to reverse the policy slowly, with due consultation and notice to everybody tactfully – that's what diplomacy is all about.

*Q:* Does it surprise you that such a radical examination of an obsolete policy is being made by Nixon, who has made a career of being an anti-Communist?
*Lippmann:* Only Nixon, among the available public men, could have made such a reversal. And he did it in the best tradition of Anglo-American politics. Remember, after all, it was the Tories who enfranchised the masses of people in England in the 19th century, not the Liberals. The theory when I was young and just learning about politics was that you always got conservatives to do the liberal things, and liberals to do the conservative things. In Nixon's case it's very dramatic because he was such a violent and unscrupulous anti-Communist, but nevertheless it's in the correct order of political progress that it's happening.

*Q:* It was interesting that this radical reversal of policy met with almost unanimous public approval, which might indicate that this is another area in which governmental policy had fallen behind public opinion.
*Lippmann:* I think that this is certainly true. The old anti-Communist crusading in which you had to outlaw and blackball anything Chinese had been dead for some time. The reason there was no outcry about the reversal was that it was made under the auspices of a certified anti-Communist like Nixon. There was nothing to object to. I consider the whole thing a plus and I don't care whether Nixon wanted to be reelected; I see no reason why Nixon shouldn't want to be reelected. The fact that he did it was a real service and it's one of the things the administration will be known for.

*Q:* So what you see is a concert of powers—the United States, Russia, China, Japan, and perhaps a revived Europe – all interacting against one another, and without forming alliances. Is that viable?
*Lippmann:* You see, I consider world government absolutely impossible to attain. I'm not even sure we wouldn't be in rebellion against it if there were one. The next thing you can have is hegemony. Some one power can rule the world for a while. But that can't last very long – less and less as the modern world develops. Or you can have a bipolar world such as we've had for only a few years, or else you get to a multipolar world. I think that on the whole there is safety in numbers.

*Q:* There's much concern in the administration and the Congress about the Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean, and the Soviet political presence in the Middle East. Do you think that this really represents a threat to American interests?
*Lippmann:* The idea that the Soviet presence in the Mediterranean and the Middle East is something that

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can't be tolerated was invented by the British as a way of protecting their road to India. It is a product of empire, and when the empire dissolved, of course the reason for protecting that road dissolved. The United States has no reason for wanting to exclude the Soviets from the Mediterranean.

Now, whether our interests are threatened is a question of how you define our intersts. What are our interests? I think our interests are, on the whole, the development of the resources of the Middle East and peace in the Middle East. As for the Arab-Israel conflict, I think that on the whole, the basic theory of the administration is correct. There should be a balance of power in which Israel cannot be crushed by the Arabs, or by the Soviet Union and the Arabs, but on the other hand is not strong enough to overrun more territory than it already has now, or perhaps to hold even as much. I think it's basically a correct policy, and can be made to work. If the Israelis were sure that we really meant they couldn't be destroyed, they wouldn't be so interested in particular pieces of territory.

*Q:* How do you feel about Sen. Fulbright's proposal for an imposed settlement in the Middle East, guaranteed by the great powers?
*Lippmann:* I don't think any imposed settlement is a good one because you've got to get agreement, and I don't think the imposers are strong enough to impose one. What I would like is that the United States should eventually join in being one of the guarantors of a settlement.

*Q:* The disaster of Vietnam has made many people believe we must define national interest much more narrowly. Do we have a vital interest in the survival of Israel? How would you define our national interest?
*Lippmann:* That word is so encrusted with historical meanings that it's hard to say what you do mean by it. The national interest has been identified with every conceivable thing that people are interested in. Once the national interest in Europe was that the Catholic religion should spread. Then it was the Protestant religion. And then it was that the woolen trades should have a good market, and then it was that nations should get gold to inflate their currencies.

National interest can mean any one of these things. But in our time it seems to me that our national interest is to see that we are comfortably secure against invasion and attack within a perfectly naturally defensible area that we recognize. For instance, with an invasion of Canada, the vital American national interest would be involved at once. Invasion of Mexico, the seizure of Cuba, would mean that. On the other hand, we can't say that Israel is as vital as that to the United States. It does no good to pretend that it is. But the world is a better place for having Israel in the Middle East; it is advancing civilization and technology there, and the world would be a worse place if it didn't exist. We ought to use our power, not to fight a war there, but to discourage and offset power, to feed Israel Phantoms, and so on.

*Q:* Is Western Europe an area vital to our interests?
*Lippmann:* Yes. I consider Western Europe up to somewhere in the middle of Germany as vital. And the division of Germany, while lamentable really, is not fatally awful. There is no doubt that somewhere in Germany there is an abyss where our vital interest fades off.

*Q:* Do you think it should be an aim of American policy to seek a unification of Germany and the withdrawal of foreign troops?
*Lippmann:* Yes. I think we should accept it as a matter of fact that the German nation is one nation, not two nations, and insofar as the Germans wish to unite we should not prevent them. There I think we would come into conflict with the Russians, who want to keep them divided, and perhaps to a certain degree with the French. But I think that when the Germans want to unite they will unite and they shouldn't be prevented by force.

### Nixon's Vietnam Policy

*Q:* What do you think of Nixon's Vietnam policy and where is it likely to take us?
*Lippmann:* President Nixon came into office with three dominating ideas in his mind. One was the notion that he wouldn't let anybody charge him with having lost the war, he wouldn't be the first President to lose a war. The second point, which he got from the thinking in the Pentagon, in the industrial and military complex, was that we needed to hold on to Camranh Bay as the strong-point in Southeast Asia. The third was that he had to end the war in his first term if he wanted to be reelected.

Now, in order to satisfy these three criteria, he adopted a very contorted, acrobatic policy. The simple, direct policy would have been to say the war has been a mistake, it was done by the people who have just been defeated in the election, and I'm going to end the war and negotiate a withdrawal, fixing a date with North Vietnam. This would have been a perfectly feasible thing to do, and one which he was advised to do. The French Foreign Office, which acted as sort of intermediary, told him the conditions under which he could end the war. But because he didn't want to give up any of his three points, he invented the absurd policy of saying he would withdraw the troops, but nevertheless, South Vietnam would win the war. This was really absurd, considering that we didn't win it when we had our troops. In order to cover the failure and absurdity of that policy, he made the dashes into Cambodia and into Laos,

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which made certain enthusiasts for his policy shriek that they were winning, when there was no chance of winning.

In fact, the whole policy was so absurd and getting so dangerous that it had to be rescued, to use the language he likes, by a great "forward pass." That was the China Policy. That rescued him from the disaster and the collapse of his attempts to do things in Vietnam which couldn't be done by withdrawing. I am for the China policy, and I think it will work, because I think now he has to withdraw from Vietnam. I believe he will now fix a date, which is all he ever had to do to get out of Vietnam, and get out quite honorably and decently in the sense that the Vietnamese flag is not going to fly over the Capitol. Nothing like that is going to happen. It's a perfectly decent loss, but not defeat. We'll have not been defeated but we'll have failed at an enterprise in which it was never possible to succeed.

Q: So the administration has abandoned its policy of trying to win with airpower and South Vietnamese mercenaries?
*Lippmann:* Absolutely. They can postpone the inevitable with airpower and South Vietnamese for a time. But in any case they could probable get an agreement underwritten by Russia and China that North Vietnam would not make any military moves against South Vietnam for, say, 10 years.

Q: What was your reaction to the revelations of the Pentagon Papers?
*Lippmann:* They were a great surprise to me. I didn't know they existed, and then, as soon as I knew enough about what they contained and how they were obtained, I felt at once that publication was a thing that had to be done. It rather resembled the Boston Tea Party. When you have a grievance and the grievance is to know how you got into one of the most costly wars in your history, and the government won't tell you, and has over-classified and hidden things—then, you have to do something to force information out into the open. In the Boston Tea Party the colonists couldn't get redress from the king, and so they poured his tea in the water. They didn't kill anybody, and they didn't pretend they weren't doing what they did. This man Ellsberg, whom I don't know but who seems to be a courageous man, said he'd take the blame for it, and that I think is what a concientious man does, must do, if he must break the law. He didn't run away, he didn't try to hide, he didn't equivocate, and the newspapers didn't either. I think the affair was well handled by the press and I think they made their point.

Q: Do you think that the press has a right to publish whatever secret documents it may obtain if it feels it's in the national interest?
*Lippman:* Less and less as life goes on, because I have come to believe there are no absolute rights. The American Constitution is unworkable if anybody claims an absolute right to do anything. Everything good in the Constitution depends upon self-restraint and an agreement to let the other person live. The press has no right to publish everything, obviously not. It may be libelous, treasonable, anything. On the other hand, nobody has the absolute right to classify. The two rights can only be adjusted to each other by reasonable men, and if you don't have reasonable men, our system can't work.

Q: Do you think that the military can be held responsible for what you describe as the really colossal errors of American foreign policy in the postwar period?
*Lippmann:* No, I don't think they were responsible for it at all. I think they were responsible when our global policy was finally launched and we were going down that road they made a colossal lot of errors on the way. For instance, they'd had an idea for a long time that we must have Camranh Bay, that it must be an American strong-point. Well that was a good idea in the 18th century but it is not a 20th-century idea.

Q: Do you agree with President Eisenhower that the military-industrial complex poses a danger to American democracy?
*Lippmann:* Certainly it's a danger that's got to be watched with an eagle eye. You can't accumulate the power that we've accumulated and the money that goes into that power and not have other effects.

### Neo-Isolationism

Q: You've argued eloquently, and a number of people have echoed your feelings, that the United States should take a benign attitude toward revolutions in most countries and let them work out their own problems as they will, even if it means confiscation of American firms, and that this will be one way of avoiding future Vietnams. But given the role of American business in many underdeveloped countries, and the role of business in the American government, do you think it's possible for the United States, given its economic system, to follow a policy of indifference toward revolutions and nationalization, in places like South America?
*Lippmann:* I don't think indifference is quite the right word, but it certainly can follow a policy of not putting the whole military establishment at the service of businesses that are aggrieved, or oppressed, or expropriated, or what not. The world is so complicated and so big and so interrelated that things have to be let to find their own level because you can't arrange it. Nobody is wise enough or clever enough or strong

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enough to arrange it all for the world. That was one of the illusions of the postwar world.

Q: But do you feel then that economics plays an important role, that the United States is required by its economic system to oppose revolutions in underdeveloped countries?
*Lippmann:* I don't agree with that, no. The United States is so big and so rich that no particular event in some small weak country is of vital importance to it. Inconvenient, yes, but not vitally important.

Q: On numerous occasions the President has warned about the rise of neo-isolationism in this country. What does that mean and how do you feel about it?
*Lippmann:* Well, neo-isolationism is the direct product of foolish globalism. If you think you can run the world and then you find out you can't, you withdraw to what you can run, and they call that neo-isolationist. Well, withdrawal is a very sensible thing to do.

Q: So you wouldn't flinch from that term?
*Lippmann:* Compared to people who thought they could run the universe, or at least the globe, I *am* a neo-isolationist and proud of it.

Q: Do you think there's any danger that the United States could withdraw too much from the world?
*Lippmann:* Yes, certainly, you can overdo everything and because we're not absolutely wise, omniscient, we probably will. But I think as soon as something vital is touched, like Canada, the isolationism will disappear at once.

Q: Speaking of European fears of American isolationism, how do you feel about Sen. Mansfield's proposal for withdrawing American troops from Europe?
*Lippmann:* Well, I think it's about time we reduced our forces over there. I don't believe that they're necessary or wise, I'm in favor of reducing the troops. Gen. Eisenhower said this quite some time ago and I believe he was right.

Q: Given the fact that the administration has done nothing about it over the last 25 years, do you think that this a good way to go about it, by congressional resolution?
*Lippmann:* I don't like foreign policy by congressional resolution. I don't want to end the Vietnam war that way either. I think that it's got to be done by the Executive in consultation with Congress. But you cannot put a check rein on the President and order him to stop the war by a certain date.

Q: So you would not approve of proposals like the McGovern-Hatfield proposal?
*Lippmann:* That is one of the excesses resulting from the stubbornness on the part of the Executive – irrationality.

Q: Then you wouldn't approve of a cutoff of funds, either?
*Lippmann:* No, I don't think you can do it that way. I don't think you ought to do it that way.

Q: Well, then what is left to Congress as a way of pushing the Executive?
*Lippmann:* Much more systematic speechmaking and hearings. Congress soon gets bored with that and goes home. They ought to keep at it.

### The Two-Party Systems

Q: There's much criticism of the two-party system in this country, that when you're offered a choice with a Nixon and a Humphrey you're not dealing with real alternatives, and that represents a breakdown of the whole democratic theory. Do you think that there's substance to that argument?
*Lippmann:* I think that a country as big as this one could not be governed by a party system in which the two parties were diametrically opposed. I think you'd get a civil war. If all the extremists of one side were united on one party and all the other extremists in another, I think it would be bad. You can't keep 200 million people in the same political system unless you have a very strong center. Inconvenient and often stupid as American politics is and the two-party system is, it's better than any alternative anybody has to offer.

For instance, the vitality of this system asserts itself. Nixon is now doing many of the liberal things that he said he wouldn't do, that the Democrats have been urging him to do. That's possible only in an illogical party system like ours in the United States. There is a difference between Nixon and Humphrey and it's enough difference. Our only trouble was that in 1968 where Humphrey differed from Nixon on the war, he was wrong. Nixon was the man who had to end the war and Humphrey was the man who had to defend it.

Q: You've lived through and written about many social crises in this country. Do you find the present situation unique?
*Lippmann:* It's much more severe because there are at least two things that have radically changed the nature of the crisis. One is the growth of population. The American political system has never experienced a time when it had to govern so many people, be governed by so many voters, govern for so many different purposes. The quantitative difference is a radical difference. Then there's the technological revolution which has changed the whole manner of life – where the agricultural community is no longer the mainstay

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of the nation. All problems get more severe if you multiply the number of people involved in them.

*Q:* Given the severity of these problems, compounded by racial animosity and the increasing anxiety of ethnic groups, do you think the effect is to corrode the democratic system in this country?
*Lippmann:* Yes, it is. I've never known a time when people had so little confidence in the future. They're afraid, they're not sure they're equal to it, and there is a great deal of diffidence about the future. But I don't think that that is irremediable. I think even with all our size and complications and so on, if there comes a group of leaders – and there may well – and they can strike the right note, the country will respond.

*Q:* But given the fact of really severe anxieties caused among other things by growing violence in the society and disrespect for social norms, not only law but simply civility, do you see the danger of facism in America?
*Lippmann:* There will be a danger. I don't think there will be fascism on a national scale – the country's too big for national fascism. But I think there will be local fascism. In local communities, majorities or strong minorities will rise up if they think they're threatened. And they'll use violence ruthlessly.

*Q:* The rise of extremist groups stems from anxieties in the society, which is something we've experienced before in our history. For example, during the Scopes trial in Tennessee in the 1920s you criticized the inability of intellectuals to take seriously the anxieties of simpler people whose traditional values were being undermined. What do you think is the responsibility of intellectuals in dealing with these anxieties today?
*Lippmann:* I think that one of the main responsibilities of an intellectual who writes and speaks is to be able to state the case or the grievance or the proposal or the will of more inarticulate people more clearly than they are able to state it themselves. There's nothing so disarming in criticism as to state the case of your opponent better than he can state it himself, and that is one of the roles of the intellectual, to make articulate and verbal and conscious things that lie within people's minds but they are unable to put into words.

*Q:* Do you think that a certain amount of public sympathy to Spiro Agnew's attacks on the television stations and the press are related to these anxieties?
*Lippmann:* I do. I think the effective way to deal with Spiro Agnew was to state the evils he was objecting to – and there were some genuine ones there – at least as well as he does, and instead of attacking him, take the issue away from him.

*Q:* One of the major national anxieties continues to be the problem of integration. Do you think the 1954 Supreme Court decision was the proper way to go about this problem?
*Lippmann:* I think the decision was right. What I criticized at the time, and I still do, is that the President and the Congress then left the problem with the courts, whereas that was when the President and Congress should have brought in a national program headed by the President and ratified by Congress for integration according to a certain plan. The idea of throwing everybody together in integrated schools without anybody having any idea as to how it would work out, and who should do it except the courts, seemed to me a very crude and really irresponsible proceeding. Let me make one point to illustrate. I thought integration should begin at the top of the age scale, not at the bottom. I wanted to integrate higher education and then move down from there, and not begin with children who have been bused around. In other words, you educate and integrate the leaders of the next generation first and they would help integrate the high school people and so on.

### Presidents and the National Interest

*Q:* How would you rate Nixon as President?
*Lippmann:* In 1968, when I decided that I had to be for Nixon, it was because I had come to the conclusion that we were at the end of a period of probably 40 years of inflation of foreign policy commitments, we had promised too much and committed ourselves to too much. There had to be a big deflation, which is always an unpopular thing to do. And I think on the whole he's proving to be a deflationist. He deflated his own anti-Communist policy, which only he could do, and on the economic plane he is doing deflationary things which the Democrats couldn't have succeeded in doing, considering the temper of the country. Deflation is necessary but unpleasant.

*Q:* Do you see any guiding principle behind Nixon's concepts of the presidency or his role as President?
*Lippmann:* His guiding principle, which I don't say in any disparaging way, is to be successful, to be re-elected, and that, in the worldly world, is not such a bad principle. After all, he isn't trying to be the savior of the world, and he isn't trying to build Camelot, and he isn't trying to be a whole lot of other things. He is doing what has to be done, which is to his credit.

*Q:* How do you think history will judge the Johnson administration?
*Lippmann:* I think it will probably say that it was involved in promoting the greatest disaster that happened to this country since the Civil War. It has divided and hurt the country more than anything in a hundred years. History will give him due credit for having passed legislation that was much demanded by the people and was on the whole necessary. But his

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foreign policy has been a disaster.

*Q:* At the time of the Dominican affair you supported the dispatch of American troops to the Dominican Republic on the grounds that the President said there was a danger that the Communists were going to take over. How do you feel about that in retrospect?
*Lippmann:* Let me just explain why I did what I did. I said Santo Domingo lies within what I would regard as the American sphere of influence, and what happens there is of great interest to the United States. There's no question that if something threatening occurs in Santo Domingo we have a need to act. The decision as to whether that danger *had* arisen I couldn't make. I had to take the President's word for it until something proved the contrary, which is quite a different thing, in my view, than his acting outside this sphere of influence. Now Vietnam lies in my view clearly outside.

*Q:* Why does a Communist government in Cuba or Santo Domingo threaten the United States?
*Lippmann:* It threatens us insofar as it becomes the military agent or outpost of the Soviet Union, which may be threatening us. We may come to a state of detente and understanding when that wouldn't be threatening to us, but we haven't yet.

### The Modern Age

*Q:* Two years ago you said you looked upon this era as a kind of minor Dark Age. Other people have seen us on the threshold of an exhilarating technological revolution. I wonder if you could expand, on what you meant.
*Lippmann:* I think the word "minor" is very important in that statement. The Dark Ages lasted for centuries. I think it's a Dark Age in that the standards by which the world has lived in a civilized and free and, in a sense, democratic way, have been broken in our time, and that makes it a Dark Age from my point of view. By minor, I had in mind that we won't sink into squalor and destruction. What kind of civilization will come out of the technological revolution I don't pretend to foresee. I think it would presumptuous and rather foolish to try to foresee it.

*Q:* There's a kind of minor religious revival going on at the moment. Do you see this as a desire to have something to hold on to?
*Lippmann:* Yes, certainly. I have a very strong belief in the toughness of the human will to survive. I think that's very powerful, and man's not the frail thing that ecologists sometimes make you think he is. Men won't stand for it, they won't lie down, and that's what I'd count on. Not that somebody will invent a creed one day or a program to solve all these problems.

When I believe in the will to survive, it isn't that I have the will to survive alone, but that I think, in the human beings that are born on this planet, that will is born in them, in many of them, not all of them, but most of them, what they call now an elite among them.

*Q:* At various times you've suggested that political liberalism and democratic society depend upon a belief in a certain order of the universe. Do you think that in this age of revolutionary change and the destruction of old values that self-government is a viable thing to live by and that it will be possible to continue it?
*Lippmann:* Well, I believe – and this is a belief I've come to very late in life and cannot prove – that the human being, just as he somehow evolved the capacity to learn language and to speak – that's an inherited capacity which Chomsky and others have written about – has acquired in the course of eons of time an inherited code of civility, I call it, by which man has learned that nobody can exercise absolute power, that power has to be exercised with some respect to the consent of the other powers. People must be able to express their feelings, they must be represented in decisions and so on. Men are not comfortable and not happy in a society which violates these, and, what is more, a society won't last, will be overthrown, if that code is violated.

*Q:* So technology, rather than leading to authoritarianism or totalitarianism, in itself demands a certain amount of individual initiative and freedom to survive.
*Lippmann:* You're quite right. The extraordinary thing about modern technology is that as it creates the atom bomb, it also creates the weapon that a guerrilla uses to destroy the power of a nation that has the atom bomb, or to resist it. Technology is not democratic – that's a misuse of the word democratic. The technologists are, however, very like what Shaw, in "Major Barbara," called the armorers or munitions makers – their creed required them to arm the rich and the poor, the weak and the strong, the black and the white, and so on.

*Q:* I suppose we can see this in the Soviet Union today, where the scientific elite is given a freedom denied others.
*Lippmann:* It can't get along without it. They can't do anything else. The modern age has so dispersed power. With technology you can see things, feel things, weigh things, dig things, smell things that you couldn't do before technology intervened. The result of this technological magnification is that empires become old-fashioned. You can't have empires; they are absolutely out of date. That's true of every empire, and in that sense you can say it's democratic.

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*The conversation between* MR. LIPPMANN *and his biographer,* MR. STEELE, *appeared in somewhat longer form in* The Washington Post, *October 10 and 17.*

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# Stanley Kauffman on films

## The Trojan Women
(Cinerama)

## Murmur of the Heart
(CIC)

*The Trojan Women* is a titanic lament. If not one of the world's greatest dramas, it's surely the greatest epilogue. The drama – the Trojan war – is finished, and this play shows what happens to the survivors. It literally *is* a sort of epilogue, the third part of a trilogy about that war. Euripides wrote the plays as a warning against the moral corruption of his countrymen by the Peloponnesian war in his own time. He had supported that war warmly when it began, saw what it was doing to Athens, and changed his mind. (A forebear, so to speak, of Daniel Ellsberg.) In 416 B.C. he heard that the Athenians had slaughtered the men of Melos and enslaved their women and children, and he wrote this work showing how his countrymen had done the same things at Troy some 800 years earlier.

When this play begins, the Trojan men have been killed, the women are being parceled out to the Greeks. Old Queen Hecuba is to be a slave. Her mad daughter, Cassandra, is to be a concubine. Her widowed daughter-in-law, Andromache, sees her small son taken to be murdered before she, too, is carried off to Greece. Only Helen, the putative cause of the ten-year war, contrives to avoid punishment.

Now Michael Cacoyannis has filmed *The Trojan Women*. I went expecting little, but I got a little more than that. Of all great plays that resist filming, the Greek tragedies are the most stubborn; and Cacoyannis, who failed with *Electra* in 1962, has not really succeeded here. The movement of the audience (via camera movement), the reality of place, the changes in visual plane, all these matters that are the blood and tissue of film are exactly what the Greeks were *not* after. The opening shots of this picture, with crowds scurrying around by torchlight, are depressingly like most film attempts to "open up" historical plays. But something happens. Not what *can* happen with this play, not what happened even in Cacoyannis' imperfect off-Broadway production in 1963. Still, there are some authentic moments.

The center is Hecuba, who is present throughout. Katharine Hepburn plays the old queen, and she, too, starts badly. Her sleek face and Bryn Mawr accent work heavily against her as the Trojan matriarch of mourning, but there's a solid conviction in her, some understanding of what Hecuba signifies in the harmonics of this elegy, and she acquires touches of majesty. The Cassandra, Genevieve Bujold, is piffling. The Andromache is Vanessa Redgrave, who looks like a caryatid. Parts of her performance seem a bit muted, but her horror when they take her son is bone-chilling – carefully designed and ferociously executed. Irene Papas, the Helen, is a marvel. First, in point of published fact, she's eleven years older than Redgrave but seems her contemporary in beauty and sex. And what Papas gives us is, to put it bluntly, gut acting – guided by technique and intelligence. She has the emotions *in* her, she doesn't have to fabricate them as Bujold does completely and Hepburn does partially; and she has the means, including a superb theater voice, to use them like weapons.

The two men are exactly right. Brian Blessed is sturdy and anguished as Talthybius, the Greek messenger. Patrick Magee, as Menelaus the king whom Helen deserted, has the proper hollow authority.

Behind all these performances stands Cacoyannis, and he's represented – fairly, I think – by their virtues and lapses. Also he worries overmuch about his camera: the freeze-frames at the beginning and the subjective view for Cassandra are both obtrusive. (The cinematographer is Alfio Contini, who did *Zabriskie Point.)* But he has worked out a passable method of handling the few choric passages – with closeups of eyes. Passable, not really comfortable: a chorus is not a film idea.

Cacoyannis' version of the play, adapted from Edith Hamilton's good translation, completely omits the first scene with gods. I admit that this cut is probably necessary in a film, but it robs the play of its cultural roots and its supernatural aegis. It's another index that these plays are not really to be filmed, except in a bargain-basement, culture-mongering way.

Whirling just once more, I add that, since the play *was* filmed, it does get some broken arcs of the great sweep of the work. This film will doubtless be inflicted on students and will give them a warped idea of Euripides and of Greek drama; but for those who know the play – or those who don't care about it! – there are a few surprisingly good moments.

Louis Malle, one of the first of the French New Wave, is a gifted fumbler. He moves in interesting directions but always mucks up. In *Zazie* (1961) he fiddled with surrealist jump-cutting

*(continued on page 32)*

### Films Worth Seeing

*Carnal Knowledge.* Jules Feiffer draws the US tail-chasing male with some wit, but it's two-dimensional cartooning. Mike Nichols and Jack Nicholson direct and perform well.

*Desperate Characters.* About today's "forgotten" people, the liberal bourgeoisie. Best film on this list, and best of Shirley MacLaine's career. Frank D. Gilroy wrote and directed.

*The Go-Between.* Thin story of a boy involved in a doomed love affair. 1900 England is exquisite to look at. Alan Bates OK as the man, Julie Christie NG as the woman. Joseph Losey directed, at the top of his fallible form.

*The French Connection.* Who says they're not making 'em like they once in a while used to? A real thriller – about drug traffic in Marseilles and New York. Top cast, whiplash direction by William Friedkin.

*The Last Picture Show.* In Texas, 1951, a small-town youth comes somberly of age. Peter Bogdanovich's second film looks and sounds somewhat familiar but is very nicely done.

*Sunday Bloody Sunday.* Just makes this list by virtue of Glenda Jackson's performance and Penelope Gilliatt's dialogue. John Schlesinger's film of a London hetero-homo triangle travels a long, seemingly purposeful way to very little.

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# Where the Penty Went

## The Waste Land by T.S. Eliot

### A Facsimile and Transcript of the Original Drafts, Including the Annotations of Ezra Pound Edited and with an Introduction by Valerie Eliot

(Harcourt Brace Jovanovich; $22.50.)

This is the lost *Waste Land* manuscript with the legendary Pound revisions, now just about 50 years old and much of that time buried in a packing case. Three years ago, divulging its whereabouts, the New York Public Library allowed the distinguished bibliographer Donald Gallup some 20 hours to make notes for a descriptive article. Next the public was allowed to gawk at the sheets under glass, while guards hassled anyone spotted with a notebook. Now scholarship has been spared years of unseemly squabbling by the fact that the poet's widow and literary executor, a woman of decision and scholarly talent, has undertaken to prepare a facsimile edition herself.

No one should want to carp about it. Valerie Eliot has worked with skill and devotion: let one anecdote illustrate. About 25 lines into "A Game of Chess" Pound scribbled marginal words which Mr. Gallup in his hurried session with the papers transcribed "Too perrty." To Mrs. Eliot that double *r* looked like an *n*. "Penty"? Pentametric? She hied her to Venice and consulted the ancient oracle. "I have never in my life used the word 'perrty.'" Nevertheless a pen was placed in the maestro's hand; nevertheless he was persuaded to write "penty" and also "perrty"; next these inditings were compared with the ms., and when we find "penty" in the type-facsimile facing the photo-facsimile, we may be sure the reading was not lightly arrived at.

Pound was complaining about a mechanical pentameter, one fault the passage had:

> . . . stirred by the air
> That freshened from the window, these ascended
> Fattening the candle flames, which were prolonged,
> And flung their smoke into the laquearia,
> Stirring the pattern on the coffered ceiling.
> Upon the hearth huge sea-wood fed with copper . . . .

"Too penty"; and we can watch Pound with rapid pencil-strokes making it into the dark knotted verse everyone remembers: deleting "which were" and placing "prolonged" before "candle flames"; contracting "and flung" to "flung"; deleting "upon the hearth." Eliot was to contribute one stroke, an "in" before "fattening."

Elsewhere Eliot undertook revisions after Pound had marked the unsatisfactoriness. Often whole pages went out. And once we can watch a virtual collaboration, as the two of them wrest majestic eloquence from the passage that began "At the violet hour . . ." and then meandered its way through 17 quatrains, 68 lines that are now 41.

"Verse not interesting enough as verse to warrant so much of it," says the marginal injunction. There was so much of it – so many weak lines – because quatrains were being filled out:

> I Tiresias, old man with wrinkled dugs
> Perceived the scene, and foretold the rest,
> Knowing the manner of these crawling bugs,
> I too awaited the expected guest.

Pound marked the third of these lines "too easy"; it went out, and we have, miraculously, not a wounded quatrain but a rhyme's augmented intensity. Out, too, went many weak lines meant to characterize "the young man carbuncular" (a salvaged phrase). Out went the typist's window-seat ("?not in that lodging house?"). Eliot restitched the remnants, and with many lines deleted and some conflated, the rhymes of dismembered quatrains burst like starshells. The admirable off-rhyme of one couplet –

> Bestows one final patronizing kiss
> And gropes his way, finding the stairs unlit

– survives from a draft in which these were no couplet at all but the *a* and *b* lines of a rhyme *abab*. And though we can now detect the ceremonies of such sonnets as Romeo and Juliet exchanged at their first meeting, these ghost sonnets were evidently quite unpremeditated, perhaps even unnoticed.

That is part of the fascination of *The Waste Land*, that the sheer authority of its verse makes relevant much that the author need not have been thinking of. And whether Eliot achieved that verse unaided (as in Part V, of which the pencil holograph, in substantially its final form, seems the work of one sitting), or whether the firm cadence was shaped by his friend out of protoplasmic tum-tum, or whether the two of them hacked at a draft together, the verse as it finally went to the printer is seamless, as though there existed an impersonal style: as though they had been two 18th-century poets, for whom collaboration would not have been strange in the least.

In that age, well before the poetic of spontaneous overflow, the criteria for strong verse were everywhere sure, and another man's invention might supplement your own. Dr. Johnson revised Goldsmith's *Traveller* and *Deserted Village*, and actually wrote the concluding passages of both. Writers living and dead furnished lines for *The Dunciad*, much as many dead writers supplied details of *The Waste Land* (and both poems were eventually published with notes). So little were pith and elegance any man's property, that Pope translating the *Iliad* accumulated and adapted whatever good bits he could glean from former translations. Eliot in his long poem had aspired toward verse as impersonally assimilative as Pope's or Johnson's, which explains the fact that Pound could help him perfect it without their two personalities variegating the result. With the benefit of the parts that were cut out, we can see that one of the models for his poem was the 18th-century urban moral satire.

The name of Johnson may remind us of two titles that would have been appropriate for *The Waste Land*. Eliot might have called it *The Vanity of Human Wishes*, which is the lesson the Fire Sermon teaches. Still better, he

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might have called it *London: A Poem*. London is everywhere its focus.

> London, the swarming life you kill and breed,
> Huddled between the concrete and the sky,
> Responsive to the momentary need,
> Vibrates unconscious to its formal destiny . . .

– so commences a transitional passage which Pound first tinkered at and then deleted. Though ill-written, it alerts us to the Augustan tradition of the poet-moralist gazing through the city's prism at moral decay. That tradition sponsored a long section about drunken playboys which Pope might have conceived though he would have written it differently, and underwrote two fascinating Eliot pages that commence "The inhabitants of Hampstead have silk hats," and certainly shaped a pastiche of *The Rape of the Lock* in which Eliot tried to write as Pope would have written:

> Admonished by the sun's inclining ray,
> And swift approaches of the thievish day,
> The white-armed Fresca blinks, and yawns, and gapes,
> Aroused from dreams of love and pleasant rapes. . . .

And against this weight of satiric particularity, of implicit measured denunciation, Eliot had poised a different order of 18th-century pastiche, rhymed trifles, an Exequy, an Elegy.

None of these survived, nor for that matter did the draft's least Augustan passage survive, a shipwreck narrative of which "Phlebas the Phoenician" is now the sole trace. What survived was what Eliot after all wrote best, stuff rooted in the Post-Impressionist tradition, not the Augustan, transposing into luminous riddles his private agonies. Yet as Racine's Alexandrine underlay the authority Baudelaire and Mallarmé could command, so the Augustan pentameter steadied Eliot's diction when he was writing scenes Pope could never have tackled, concerning the woman who said her nerves were bad.

For central to the poem's impulse lay his disastrous first marriage, of which the late Robert Sencourt has left us a voyeur's account (*T.S. Eliot: A Memoir*; Dodd Mead; $8.95). Vivien – it is tempting to call her Eliot's Zelda – was much of the time out of her mind, and yet she had a gift of brilliant mimicry (a few lines in the draft are in her hand). She drove Eliot nearly out of *his* mind, in ways we may guess at from the "bad nerves" interchange, which sounds transcribed from the life. (Pound's marginal comment was "Photography"; it is unsettling to read Vivien's comment also: "WONDERFUL.") As "Fanny Marlow" she wrote for the *Criterion*, playing at brittle personae; in one piece she adapted 20 lines her husband had written for *The Waste Land* with his mind, it would seem, on one of her roles. Another time, as though to validate his poem's opening, she wrote of hyacinths "bursting clumsily out of their pots." (*They called me the hyacinth girl.*) And then went on: "One's soul stirs stiffly out of the dead endurance of the winter – but toward what spring? . . . What happy meetings, what luminous conversations in twilight rooms filled with the scent of hyacinths, await me now? . . . None at all. For I am not the same person who once played . . . a leading part in those spring fantasies."

These were his images but her mood, a mood conformed to his images, which had been in print for two years. No, she was already not the same person. Who was she? "Most women have no characters at all," wrote Pope, meaning no fixed idiosyncratic scheme of passions. She metamorphosed before Eliot's eyes like a globule of quicksilver, glistening, deadly. Imitating from Pope and Johnson the moralist's persona, he struggled to fix in verse such an urban world as might contain her.

He handled the Augustan rhetorical machinery badly, and most of what he did with it was scrapped. The Augustan steadiness abided, to precipitate verse so impersonally strong, though with deeply personal origins, another man could help improve it. And the century was granted its most influential poem, achieved by an indirection and at a cost there was no means of estimating till now.

**Hugh Kenner**

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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

HUGH KENNER'S *latest book,* The Pound Era, *is being published this month by the University of California Press.* WILLIAM L. O'NEILL'S *most recent book is* Coming Apart: An Informal History of America in the 1960s *(Quadrangle).*

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# The LBJ of TV

## The Vantage Point: Perspectives of the Presidency 1963-1969 by Lyndon Baines Johnson

(Holt, Rinehart and Winston; $15.00)

Everyone knows what to expect from presidential memoirs – stale bureaucratic prose, failures excused or passed over, trivial victories recalled, history rewritten. The memoirs of politicians are nearly always self-serving and self-indulgent, those of Presidents, because they have so much more to serve, especially so. By these standards President Johnson's book is not the worst example of this genre. He is unfailingly generous even to his enemies, (Vietnamese excepted). People who disagreed with him get credit for sincerity and good intentions. The worst of them, doves particularly, are ignored. This is the Lyndon Baines Johnson we saw on television – soft spoken, painfully earnest, eager to be President of all the people, by turns sentimental and emphatic. What we do not see here are the other Lyndon Johnsons, the captious taskmaster who alternately abused and rewarded his staff, the vulgar countryman with his barnyard expletives, Emperor Lyndon surveying his domains.

We also get little sense from his book of the political genius that extracted all those memorable bills, even from the reluctant Congress that had frustrated President Kennedy. According to *The Vantage Point*, passing them was largely a matter of assembling key leaders, appealing to their common sense and patriotism, and working out acceptable compromises. That is the sort of thing expected in a high school civics text. *The Vantage Point* would also make better reading, be a more human, personal document, and be a more reliable account of his presidency, if Mr. Johnson had let his hostilities show. Without them an essential part of the man is missing, and if the reader doesn't know something of the opposition to LBJ he cannot understand what was happening to the country. Perhaps President Johnson had made up his mind early not to seek another term. But the fact was, as he admits, that while he could probably have been reelected in 1968, he would have had great trouble governing. A young reader picking up this book 20 years from now will not see why.

President Johnson never understood why people hated his war. The reasons for having it seemed simple enough to him. Mostly they are variations of the domino theory. "I realize," he says, "that some Americans believe they have, through talking with one another, repealed the domino theory." But he goes on to insist that if South Vietnam were to fall, so would the rest of South-East Asia. American commitments around the world would be undermined and the American will found wanting, thus encouraging Communist adventures elsewhere leading possibly to World War III.

He had to have it both ways. He fought a war to enhance American power and prestige, while insisting that it was for the good of Vietnam. He speaks of "our brave boys" repeatedly, but never talks of how vast regions of South Vietnam were depopulated, millions turned into refugees, their villages burned and livelihoods destroyed.

Nor is there mention here of napalm, or of antipersonnel weapons filling the air with darts and pellets, or of hundreds of thousands of civilians slain. From his vantage point it was all a matter of our brave boys, and grandiose geopolitical fantasies garnished with fatuous sentiments, as when Ambassador Lodge says at the end of a hollow meeting between President Johnson and Prime Minister Ky, "We have moved ahead here today in the fight to improve the lot of the little man at the grassroots. That is what this is all about."

If this book tells us little that we did not already know, it does suggest how and why de-escalation began. In the mid-sixties President Johnson spoke of victory and nailing the coonskin to the wall. In 1968 he put a ceiling on American troop levels and began negotiating with Hanoi. Mr. Johnson would like us to think he turned about

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because the VC Tet offensive failed, leading Ho Chi Minh to see reason for a change. This makes little sense. The Tet offensive was a failure only if one assumes, as Johnson does, that it was meant to overthrow the Saigon regime. Yet a total of only 85,000 men were used in widely scattered attacks – a mere fraction of the enemy's total manpower and a force too small to defeat the ARVN, much less the enormous American military establishment. Whatever its purpose, the Tet offensive exposed American claims that the enemy was beaten, showed that he could launch major strikes in absolute secrecy however dense the population, set back the rural pacification program at least a year, and demoralized people at home – the one defeat Mr. Johnson is willing to concede. At the time it seemed ridiculous for Washington to claim a victory, yet *The Vantage Point* implies that it was, and was therefore an essential prelude to de-escalation.

By the end of 1967 President Johnson was losing his faith in victory. Secretary McNamara gave him a memorandum on November 1 arguing for a bombing halt in North Vietnam, an end to troop expansion in the South, a reduction in American combat actions and the beginning of what would later be called Vietnamization. The chief hawks in Johnson's aviary didn't much care for this. Clark Clifford was afraid of "chortles of unholy glee issuing from Hanoi." But the President was also beginning to fear that the war would go on forever. The military wanted another 200,000 troops in Vietnam. They would need support, so actually 400,000 men would have to be called up, some of them reservists. Escalation would cost another $10 billion. The turmoil at home would increase. Yet despite these troubles Mr. Johnson almost never mentions the peace movement. Eugene McCarthy scarcely exists. The march on the Pentagon made legendary by Norman Mailer in *Armies Of The Night* passes by unnoticed, as do other demonstrations, defections, and popular revolts. Yet they were destroying the President's mandate at home, while Hanoi and the Vietcong frustrated his ambitions abroad.

President Johnson's dilemma in 1968, then, is that while he could not go forward in Vietnam, he could not readily go back either. Unilateral de-escalation would have meant condemning millions to suffering and death for nothing. What he needed was a formula that would enable him to claim success


From Calcutta...

**Report on Elizabeth Dass...**

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CALCUTTA, INDIA - CASEWORKER REPORT

TO NAZARETH HOME, CALCUTTA. DATE: MARCH 17, 1969

NAME: ELIZABETH DASS DATE OF BIRTH: APRIL 12, 1964

NATIVE PLACE: CALCUTTA ORDER OF BIRTH: THIRD DAUGHTER

HEALTH: FRAIL, THIN, WALKS MX WITH DIFFICULTY, PROTEIN DEPRIVED

CHARACTERISTICS: GENTLE, QUIET, COOPERATIVE. SPEAKS CLEARLY AND IS OF GOOD MIND. WILL BE ABLE TO LEARN ONCE HEALTH AND STRENGTH XX ARE RESTORED.

PARENTXMXSCONDITION: FATHER: DECEASED.

MOTHER: MALNOURISHED, RECENT VICTIM OF XXX SMALLPOX, WORKS IN A MATCH FACTORY.

INVESTIGATION REPORT:

ELIZABETH'S FATHER USED TO BE A STREET CLEARNER, DIED FROM TYPHUS. HER MOTHER IS VERY WEAK FROM HER RECENT ILLNESS-INDEEDIT IS REMARKABLE SHE IS ALIVE AT ALL. ONLY WORK AVAILABLE TO THIS WOMAN IS IN A MATCH FACTORY WHERE SHE EARNS TWO RUPEES A DAY (26¢) WHEN SHE IS STRONG ENOUGH TO GET THERE AND WORK.

HOME CONDITIONS: HOUSE: ONE ROOM BUSTEE (HOVEL) OCCUPIED BY SEVERAL OTHER PERSONS BESIDES ELIZABETH AND HER MOTHER. HOUSE IS SO SMALL COOKING IS DONE ON THE FOOTPATH. BATHING IS DONE AT A PUBLIC TAP DOWN THE ROAD. PERSONS LIVING WITH THEM IN THIS HOUSE ARE NOT OF GOOD REPUTE, AND THE MOTHER FEARS FOR ELIZABETH.

SISTERS: MARIA DASS, DECEASED OF SMALLPOX
LORRAINE DASS, ALSO DECEASED OF SMALLPOX
(ELIZABETH FORTUNATELY ENTIRELY ESCAPED CONTAGION)

REMARKS: ELIZABETH WILL CENTAINLY BECOME ILL, PERHAPS WILL TAKE UP THIEVING, MAYBE EVEN MORE TERRIBLE WAYS OF LIVING, IF SHE IS NOT REMOVED FROM XM PRESENT HOME CONDITIONS. HER MOTHER IS WILLING FOR HER TO GO TO NAZARETH HOME AND WEEPS WITH JOY AT THE HOPE OF HER LITTLE XX DAUGHTER BECOMING SAFE FROM THE WRETCHED LIFE THEY NOW HAVE.

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in the South and open discussions with the North. Tet gave him a chance at both. The Pentagon and Saigon agreed that Tet was a decisive victory. Saigon promised to try even harder than before. This let Johnson say that far from sending fresh divisions to Vietnam, it was finally possible to limit American participation and give more responsibility to the ARVN. For the same reason he could afford a partial bombing halt, and then, when Ho Chi Minh responded favorably, a complete one. The Communists could afford to talk because they too could claim Tet as a victory. Both sides were now able to represent themselves as negotiating from strength.

If what I have inferred from *The Vantage Point* is so, Mr. Johnson must always insist that victory in Vietnam was what made de-escalation possible. Given the kind of man he is, he probably also has to believe it. At any rate, the policy change he began was so clearly right politically that Richard Nixon was obliged to pursue it.

Should American withdrawals continue, the point may be reached where, in some way unknown to us, the war will end. If that happens the Vietcong and the peace movement of 1967 and '68 will between them have saved what remained of America's honor. And, strangely enough, in that event Lyndon Johnson will be rehabilitated, too. For, as he knows, posterity is inclined to forget the cost and remember only the outcome of great enterprises. He is in a position to gain whatever happens. If Saigon falls people will say that he realized in time the folly of backing it and prepared the way for a graceful American withdrawal. If not, he will be remembered for the escalation that presumably saved it. President Johnson was a great political sleight-of-hand artist. Vietnam may turn out to be his greatest trick of all.

Yet whatever posterity's judgment, it is hard to feel that way now. Reading this book calls back memories we want to forget – of hopes raised at home only to be dashed abroad, of promises given that could not be kept, of deceptions made that could not be forgiven. What he built with one hand he smashed with the other. That was the tragedy of Lyndon Johnson's presidency, one that seems all the worse for his blindness to it. He was a giant among Presidents and we live in his shadow still, a place too dark to see exactly where we have been, much less where we are going. We need all the light we can get, but it will not come from works such as this.

**William L. O'Neill**

*The Geography of Faith*, conversations between Daniel Berrigan when underground and Robert Coles, has just been published by Beacon Press ($7.50). Coles is a contributing editor of *The New Republic.*

# Notable

## Youth and Dissent
## by Kenneth Keniston

(Harcourt Brace Jovanovich; $9.95)

Keniston's new book draws together 20 essays, all but two published before, which form a remarkably coherent analysis of the evolution of youthful dissent since the early Sixties. Keniston has already established himself as one of the most perceptive and creative commentators on the origins and dynamics of America's postindustrial youth. His *The Uncommitted*, which examines youth alienation, and *Young Radicals*, a study of antiwar organizers, have become classics. This new collection firmly demonstrates that Keniston is neither a psychologist nor a historian but a hybrid of the two. Tracing youthful dissent since the days of the Civil Rights sit-ins and the first

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Berkeley rebellion, he argues that youth revolt is more than a passing fad. "The surfacing of a new opposition, like French student revolution, is but a preface to the continuing social, political and cultural crisis of nations like our own," he writes. Ending the Vietnam war won't stop campus rebellions as many politicians and educators suggest, and neither will reforming universities. Youth dissent, whether cultural or political, is the product of a new psychological stage of youth fused with a peculiar historical condition. The amorphous, psychological stage between childhood and adulthood – the college years – has come to nourish more autonomous, spiritually complex, individuated persons than ever before; and the presence of great numbers of these persons in a confused, contradictory and rapidly changing society inevitably produces the counter culture.

Conservatives will criticize Keniston as an apologist for radicals – he openly sympathizes with their basic social critiques. Radicals will score him when he argues that the youth revolution is not so much a break as an affirmation of values which have lain deep, but dormant, in American society.

## The Sway of the Grand Saloon
## by John Malcolm Brinnin

(Delacorte Press; $15.00)

This 552-page "Social History of the North Atlantic" incorporates the good qualities of a history, a social survey and a nostalgic scrapbook without giving way to their usual defects. Brinnin, an English professor at Boston University and the author of six volumes of poetry, has had "steamships and their movements" obsessively in mind since childhood, and they were replaced in adolescence only by poems and novels about ships. This volume is the result – a collection of shipside gossip, literary narratives and accounts of shipwreck distilled from hundreds of sources. The only persistent theme is the running competition between the

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monied classes and the vulgar majority for the attention of shipowners. The first regular passenger-carriers, the "square-riggers on schedule" of the blackball line, treated customers roughly. Luxury came with the steamships: "Floating hyperboles, absurdly caparisoned in brocades of silver, weighted and hung with the swag of the Western world like Hannibal's elephants – these new ships would at first alter the picture, then change it completely." Wealthy fathers, whose daughters had "fallen inconveniently in love with ne'er-do-wells," could bundle their troublesome children off to Liverpool trusting that "the one sure antidote to lovesickness was seasickness." Brinnin says that shipowners took class distinction closely into account, openly courting the rich while quietly maintaining solvency by serving the poor. In the end he shows that democracy and the airlines have worked a revenge, making ocean travel too expensive for the common man and too banal for the wealthy. The great liners still in operation, he says, are now a species of "drifting resorts" and, during a summer season on the Atlantic run, just as confining and impersonal as airplanes.

## Kauffmann, *from page 24*

and fumbled. In *Le Feu Follet* (1963) he aspired *à la* Camus and fumbled. In *Viva Maria!* (1965) he tried a picaresque sexy romance, fumbled again, and we won't even talk about his Poe episode in *Spirits of the Dead* (1969). Now comes *Murmur of the Heart.* He directed it well, but the script, which he wrote, is the epitome of a mediocre writer's idea of sensitivity and daring. So . . . another fumble.

It's the story of how a boy, not quite fifteen, gets to make love with his mother. From the very beginning, signals are flashed – blindingly. Mama, who is lovely and relatively young, runs around in her slip before him and his older teen-age brothers. More, she is foreign – an Italian in a French family – thus the "different" person needed for a "different" action. More, the boy is highly intelligent, so he is "different," too. More, they are well-to-do, so they live in an atmosphere of culture and off-hand taste and easy *tristesse.* What hack writer, up from some script-writing cellar, would not have made a bee-line for all these elements if asked for a script in which incest could be made acceptable? (Ask a social worker about the kind of home in which incest is most likely to occur.)

Malle doesn't leave the triteness there. When the boy mentions masturbation in confession, the priest – as if on cue from three centuries of anticlerical literature – reaches forward and feels him up. When the boy goes to bed with his first whore and tries to kiss her, she tells him – guess! – that she doesn't kiss her customers, she saves that for her fiancé. Even the final "snapper" sequence, after the sex with his ma, is debased Colette. Malle, to put it kindly, is malleable.

Benoit Ferreux is attractive as the boy in an angular, broody, witty way. The best pleasure in the picture is Lea Massari as the mother. She was the girl who disappeared early in *L'Avventura* (1960) and has virtually disappeared from all films since then – on American screens, at least. She's warm and credibly free-spirited and wonderfully funny-looking and wonderfully sexy. Now that she's back from that island, I hope she'll stick around.

The real argument against this film is not its corny sensitivities but its purposelessness. The good works about incest, of various kinds, have used the subject significantly. But the whole point of this picture is simply to go on long enough and tremulously enough so that the incest scene is "tasteful" when it arrives. Suppose it is. Why bother?

*Book Note.* Farrar, Straus & Giroux have just published *Von Stroheim* by Thomas Quinn Curtiss ($10), which is wretchedly written and critically barren but full of information about this fascinating man.

## Personals

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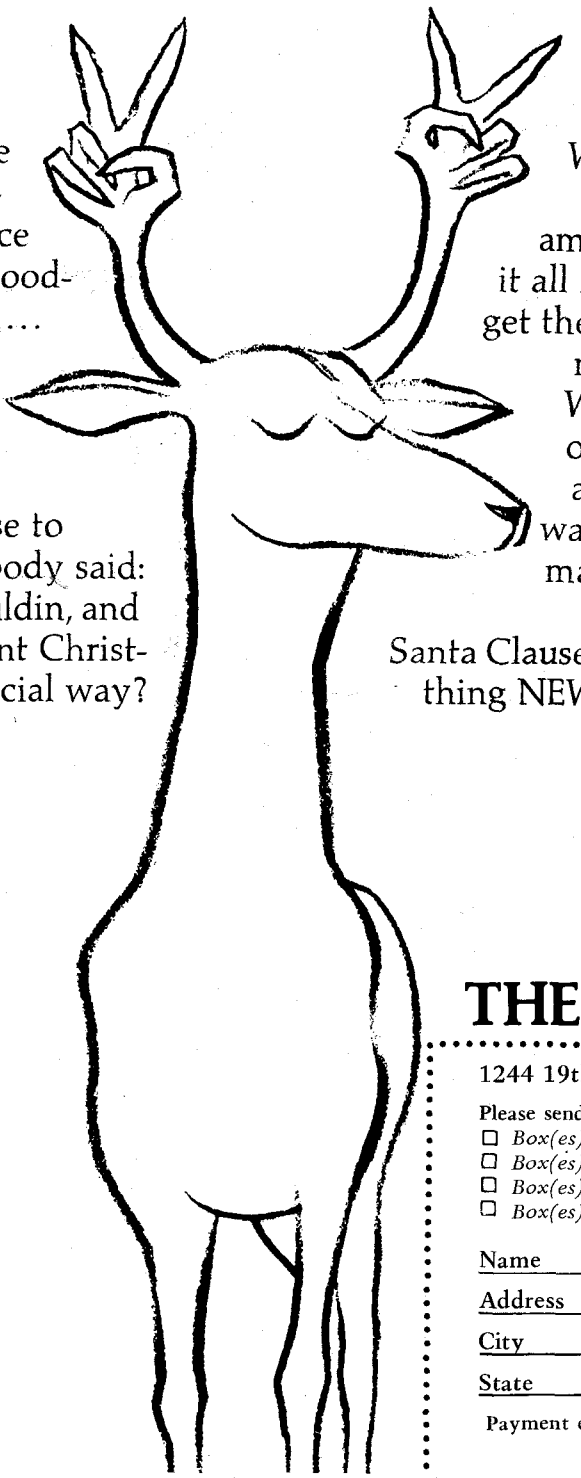

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